

# TIME



## The Meaning Of Michelle

BY NANCY GIBBS  
AND MICHAEL SCHERER

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*On the cover: Michelle Obama photographed by TIME by Platon in the East Wing of the White House on Wednesday, May 13, 2009*

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# 10 Questions.

The CNN host recaps 50 years in broadcasting in *My Remarkable Journey*. **Larry King will now take your questions**



## Next Questions

Ask Perez Hilton your questions for an upcoming interview at [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

**Whom do you most want to interview that you haven't yet?**

*Kyla Kelim, MOBILE, ALA.*

Fidel Castro certainly. Always wanted to interview a Pope. Any Pope. And J.D. Salinger, who is probably the most impossible interview to get. *The Catcher in the Rye* had a major impact on me. I'd ask him, "Where'd you go? Why'd you stop writing? Did you run dry after four books?" That just boggles me. That's something I could never do. Disappear from the scene.

**What has allowed you to last so long on the job?**

*Olaide Sanni, LAGOS, NIGERIA*

Longevity is impossible to explain. I never wanted to do anything else but be a broadcaster. I'm talking about age 5. I wanted to be on the radio, then I wanted to be on television. I never thought I'd be seen worldwide. We almost called the book *What Am I Doing Here?*

**Do you agree with the perception that you ask soft questions?**

*Michael West, COPENHAGEN*

Don't agree with it. I'm not there to pin someone to the wall. If I were to begin an interview with Nancy Pelosi and say, "Why did you lie about torture?" the last thing I will learn is the truth. I'd be putting them on the defensive to make me look good. At that point, they're a prop. To me, the guest is not a prop.

**Are you concerned about the popularity of ideologically charged news programs?**

*Bobby Porter*

*BLOOMINGTON, ILL.*

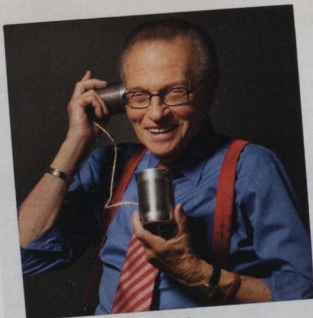
I'm not concerned, because all

things are cyclical. Hopefully, the good, straight, thoughtful, in-depth interview will always be around. There's something I learned long ago: I never learned a thing when I was talking. So these shows where the host is on 90% of the time and the guest 10%, I don't get it.

**Which interview has surprised you the most?**

*Arzu Samur, ISTANBUL*

The Watergate villain G. Gordon Liddy. I don't like to make preimpressions, but I expected not to like him. And I really liked him. I thought he was wacky, but wackos can be fun. I loved his passion. I loved his sense of humor. He was a true character and therefore duck soup for an interview.



*Larry King*

**You've taken heat for having tabloid guests on your show. How do you feel about that?**

*Dirk Crockett*

*OKLAHOMA CITY*

I don't know that I deserve the heat, because I don't pick the guests. Never pick the guests. And a lot of times, I don't like it either. However, when the light goes on, I've got a job to do. So if we have to discuss the missing child or the beauty star who's divorcing her husband, it's the nature of the beast. You have to do it. I never throw away a show.

**How many pairs of suspenders do you have?**

*Adrienne Wood*

*BATON ROUGE, LA.*

Never counted 'em. But my guess would be—there are

suspenders in New York and Washington and, of course, at my home in Los Angeles—150. But they can't be clip-ons. Every pair of pants I buy—jeans, anything—we sew in the suspender buttons.

**How do you deal with guests you don't like?**

*Peter Rai, MERRILL, WIS.*

Well, I'm a professional, and my job is to be a conduit. My personal opinion does not count. I don't use the word *I*. It's irrelevant. The only thing that counts is the guest. So is it harder to interview someone you don't like? You bet. But you gotta suck it up.

**What has been your most awkward interview?**

*Josh Lewis*

*LAKE ELSINORE, CALIF.*

Robert Mitchum, who was one of my favorite actors, drove me nuts. Every answer was one word. "Yep. Nope. Maybe. Not sure. Sure." I never got through to him. It got so bad that I wound up asking him what he had for dinner. And when he finished, he said, "How did I do?"

**What does life after Larry King Live look like to you?**

*Felicite Osborne*

*NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.*

As Milton Berle said, "Retire? To what?" I don't envision retirement. I'm not a good sitter-arounder, if that's a term. It doesn't suit me. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

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Optional features shown.

# Postcard: Ramallah. To Palestinians, the massive Israeli separation barrier is an eyesore and an insult. To graffiti artists, it's the world's biggest canvas. **Painting the wall, one letter at a time**

BY TIM MCGIRK

**F**EW THINGS ARE AS MONUMENTALLY ugly as the Israeli separation wall on Jerusalem's edge. For miles and miles, it runs along stony hills and across valleys terraced with olive trees, cutting through towns and fields, cleaving families from their homes, farmers from their land. Its concrete slabs are more than 20 ft. high and crowned with coils of razor wire; the wind seems to blow every stray plastic bag in the Holy Land into its cold shadows. The Palestinians like to say, accurately or not, that the wall can be seen from outer space.

In 2002, Israel started building the barrier—part concrete, part chain-link fence—to prevent suicide bombers crossing over from the West Bank. When it is finished, it will be more than 400 miles long, zigzagging deep into Palestinian territory. But for graffiti artists, all that bare concrete is too great a temptation to resist. Just as Yosemite's El Capitan beckons the bravest of rock climbers, Israel's wall has become the ultimate challenge for members of the global street-art subculture. Banksy, the British guerrilla artist, has already sprayed the wall with a few of his ironic creations (my favorite: a little girl in a pink frock frisking an armed soldier). One has drawn a giant pair of scissors cutting a hole in the wall along a dotted line.

Thanks to a group of Dutch and Palestinian activists, people can now immortalize their words on the wall without a passport or a can of Krylon. For \$40, you can compose a message at [www.sendamessage.nl](http://www.sendamessage.nl), and a trio of Palestinian graffiti artists will spray your words on the wall and e-mail you a photo as proof. The only restriction: no messages of hate or anti-Semitism. When I caught up with the artists—Faris Arouri, Youssef Nijim and Raji Najam—Nijim was shooting a herd of goats away from his stencils,



**Writing on the wall** Nijim stencils part of a 1.6-mile-long message near Ramallah

which were lying on the ground. "They'll eat anything, even plastic," he said, wind-milling his arms as the goats scattered. When the artists' work began last year, Israeli soldiers chased them away but soon realized that letting them paint was likely to cause less fuss than arresting them. I asked the three whether the wall made a greater statement in its original state of ugliness or as a canvas for artistic expression. "To resist something, sometimes you have to interact with it," replied Arouri. "No way you can ignore the wall."

So far, the group has written 850 messages, ranging from the quirky (a falafel recipe) to the anarcho-romantic (JOIN THE RESISTANCE: FALL IN LOVE) to the sardonic (ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE IS NO MATCH FOR NATURAL STUPIDITY). But most are mushy love notes (M.L. LOVES HER FUNKY D). So one of the organizers, Dutch theater director Justus van Oel, decided to up the ante. He commissioned Farid Esack, a South African religious scholar and former anti-apartheid activist, to write a 1,998-word letter, in

English, to Palestinians urging nonviolent resistance to the Israelis. The work is now being painted in 2-ft.-high letters along a 1.6-mile stretch of wall near Ramallah. The writing will consume more than 400 cans of spray paint and has been paid for by private donations. The South African was chosen, says Van Oel, because "Esack gets beyond the anger. He is a reconciler." The letter, in part, reads: "Have our Jewish sisters and brothers forgotten their humiliation? In your land, we are seeing something far more brutal, relentless and inhuman than what we have ever seen under apartheid."

Israelis normally react furiously when comparisons are drawn between their treatment of Palestinians and the behavior of South Africa's racist regime. But this time, does it matter? The writing is on the Palestinian side, and the only Israelis who see it are soldiers patrolling in humvees. And as Van Oel points out, the Israelis aren't the only ones the messages are aimed at. "A Palestinian taxi driver once told me that he likes the writing on the wall, even though he can't read it," he says. "He's reassured that Palestinians haven't been forgotten by the outside world."



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By Suzy Welch  
Scribner; 226 pages

AS A TOP-NOTCH FINANCIAL journalist, Suzy Wetlaufer knew a good business story when she saw one. Unfortunately, the biggest story of her career turned out to be a tabloid-ready bombshell starring Suzy herself—specifically, her relationship with corporate titan Jack Welch. “Jack and I gave the press a magnificent cocktail,” she told *TIME* recently. “You couldn’t have made it up. Here we have a very famous CEO who’s married, who has just written a big, best-selling autobiography, and he runs off with this mother of four who [is the editor] of the *Harvard Business Review*.” TV trucks camped outside her home; paparazzi pursued her. Before long, Suzy, then 42, had been fired, and Jack, then 66, was in court with his understandably angry soon-to-be ex-wife. Seven years later, Suzy is happily married to Jack, and she is willing—nay, eager—to discuss the love affair that cost her a prestigious job and cost her paramour more than a reported \$75 million settlement. Suzy and the former General Electric chieftain “work together 24/7,” write together and raise her children (and their profile). And she pens smart self-help books cum memoirs to boot.

The author writes with messianic zeal about a life-management technique that she invented a dozen years ago and for which she has successfully proselytized ever since. To 10-10-10 a decision means to analyze the issue from the perspective of 10 minutes hence, 10 months and 10 years. “The process invariably led me to faster, cleaner and sounder decisions,” she writes. You can apply her technique to decisions as life-altering as whether to leave your job or as mundane as whether to attend a child’s soccer game or stay at work.

The 10-10-10 approach is like a catchy tune you keep humming after hearing it



on the radio. When applied, it immediately cuts down on foolish impulses. But the author, whose husband famously wrote the best seller *Straight from the Gut*, isn’t discounting intuition. That’s what governed her decision to dive—joblessly—into a new life with Jack. “I failed 10-10-10 because I was overwhelmed by events,” Suzy admits now, with a touch of authorial embarrassment. “I was sort of standing in the middle of a field, and suddenly the skies opened up, and the skies fell down on me, and I didn’t stop and say, O.K., ‘10-10-10.’” Maybe Mr. Straight from the Gut won that round.



**The Richest Man in Town: The Twelve Commandments of Wealth**  
By W. Randall Jones  
Business Plus; 242 pages

BEING AN RMIT (ALAS, there are very few RWITs) is a good thing, reports the author. He spent two years studying the most successful self-made person in each of 100 U.S. towns. The poorest of these folks is worth more than \$100 million, and half are billionaires. Does money

buy happiness? Well, yes, Jones reports: “RMITs love the lives they have created for themselves.” He crunches the numbers and gives his advice about joining the elite club (“Get Addicted to Ambition,” “Fail to Succeed”). But most important, keep thy day job.



**Fool's Gold: How the Bold Dream of a Small Tribe at J.P. Morgan ... Unleashed a Catastrophe**  
By Gillian Tett  
Free Press; 293 pages

Four years ago, Gillian Tett made the curious choice of moving to the capital-markets desk at the *Financial Times*—bonds, mortgage securities, derivatives. Arcane stuff, numbing stuff. Did she sense something? Tett eventually found herself covering the biggest financial story in a generation. *Fool's Gold* tells how a team at J.P. Morgan popularized credit derivatives, then pulled back worriedly just before the rest of the banking world was nearly destroyed by them. The physics of finance is complex, but Tett explains the world of derivatives as well as any book for lay readers ever has. ■



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# Inbox

## The Life of the Grand Old Party

YOUR COVER STORY ON THE GOP'S RISK OF extinction squarely addresses the Republicans' problems of connecting with voters but neglects to address the fact that, save Barack Obama, the Democrats are not in any better shape [May 18]. Remove the highly popular President from the Democratic equation, and that party, as evidenced by the previous Congress's approval ratings, is even less popular than George W. Bush. For all the cataclysmic talk about the GOP, the Democrats are one person away from being in the same boat.

*Constantinos Scaros, CLIFFSIDE PARK, N.J.*

MICHAEL GRUNWALD'S ANALYSIS OF the sorry state of the Republican Party is the best of many I have read. But he assigns insufficient blame to the figurehead of the party for eight years, Bush, whose faith-based leadership alienated many who believe in secular government. His obstinacy in the face of evolving public opinion in favor of stem-cell research, equality for same-sex couples and women's reproductive rights underscored his failure to feel the pulse of modern America. Most of all, his my-way-or-the-highway foreign policy made the U.S. a global pariah.

*Bill Gottdenker, MOUNTAINSIDE, N.J.*

SINCE NOVEMBER'S ELECTIONS, REPUBLICAN state legislative candidates have won 10 special elections—besting Democrats

in Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Maine, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina and Texas. It should be noted that the seat won in Delaware represents parts of Vice President Joe Biden's hometown. While others may be waiting for the Virginia and New Jersey 2009 gubernatorial elections as bellwethers for 2010, we have been focusing on rebuilding the party from the grass roots up—through recruiting, training and supporting down-ballot candidates for state office. The party has a bright future. It is being built in the states where the next generation of leaders is winning elections by advancing new ideas while adhering to conservative principles. The plight of Republicans in Washington does not reflect the true standing of the party. To paraphrase Mark Twain, we believe the reports of the Republican Party's demise are greatly exaggerated.

*Scott Ward,  
President, Republican State  
Leadership Committee  
ALEXANDRIA, VA.*

AS A FORMER GOP COUNTY CHAIRMAN, I firmly agree that the Republican Party is toast, but what exactly do you expect will happen once the GOP is relegated to history's trash bin? That we'll all live in peace and harmony and sing "Kumbaya" together?

*Howard Hirsch, DAYTON, NEV.*

**'Amen to TIME. Gay or not—who cares? Adam Lambert is sexy and has a singing voice from God. He had me at hello, and I know he'll be a big star.'**

*Amanda Posito, CHATSWORTH, CALIF.*



**Future front man** American Idol's confidently glam Lambert, whose performances TIME reviewed, shook up the show's conventional image



## WHERE HAVE YOU GONE, ABE?

I OFTEN WONDER, WHAT HAPPENED TO the party of Lincoln [May 18]? It seems that we now have a party of Limbaugh.

**LETTER  
FROM AN  
INDEPENDENT**

That is scary. I speak to others who come to the same conclusion: the GOP is not the party of ordinary Americans. It has gone too far to the right and has no new ideas. Having to kowtow to Rush Limbaugh is plain pathetic. When will the Republicans be able to work for those who are not rich and are trying to make a decent living? The leadership of Michael Steele is a joke; they should have looked at someone like Oklahoma Representative Tom Cole or Florida Governor Charlie Crist. I hope Joe Scarborough is correct that the party will come back, but I don't think it will anytime soon.

*Juan Rodriguez, BEAR, DEL.*

MY TAKE ON THE ABYSMAL STATE OF THE GOP is a grab bag: the sea of rapturous pink-faced men in suits at last year's Republican Convention, Sarah Palin speaking of her gay friend's "choice," the endless seven minutes of Bush sitting still during the onset of 9/11, pretty much any comment from Dick Cheney. When Obama was elected, many wept from a mixture of deep relief and optimism—only to be mocked afterward by Republican pundits, who would begrudge Obama anything. When will they get it?

*Will Gilchrist, LOS ANGELES*

WHEN THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE FEELS the pain of double-digit inflation and higher interest rates and taxes because of the enormous debt racked up by Obama and the Democrats, the pendulum of public opinion will swing back to sounder principles and the Republican Party. Let's hope it will not be too late and the Republicans won't screw it up again next time they're in power.

*Bob Routsong, ST. GEORGE, UTAH*

YOU POINT OUT THAT GOVERNOR MARK Sanford of South Carolina has refused \$700 million in stimulus cash. Please tell the governor he should take it. I recently used Interstate 95, having just returned

**STARBUCKS  
OR NOTHING.  
BECAUSE  
COMPROMISE  
LEAVES A REALLY BAD  
AFTERTASTE.**



**IT'S NOT JUST COFFEE. IT'S STARBUCKS.**



to New England from a vacation in Florida. The deplorable condition of that road in Sanford's state makes me wonder if he has his head screwed on straight. Take the money and create some jobs.

*Kevin Murray, MOULTONBORO, N.H.*

I AM OLD AND CAN REMEMBER WHEN SOME Republicans were statesmen who cared about our country, its people and its future. They disappeared in 1980. I want to see them back again.

*Donald A. Williams, CHAPEL HILL, N.C.*

### That's One Good Cup of Joe!

RE "THEY ONLY LOOK DEAD" [MAY 18]: BOTH parties need more faces like Joe Scarborough. I'm a left-of-liberal Democrat who could easily become a Scarborough Republican. At a time when Republicanism sounds like a social disorder, Scarborough is a welcome voice of thoughtfulness, reason and adaptability. Ideologues and vitriolic hatemongers like Rush Limbaugh raise the question, Have we outgrown the need for party labels? As both parties move to become more of what the other side hates, people like Scarborough and Arnold Schwarzenegger move toward pragmatic evolution.

*Bob Abrams, HIGHLAND PARK, ILL.*

SCARBOROUGH WRITES, "INSTEAD OF BUILDING empires abroad, Republicans should aim to balance their books at home." In other words, Republicans should listen to Ron Paul.

*Henry Miller, CARY, N.C.*

### Up, Up and Away

IN HIS LIST OF INFLUENCES ON PIXAR'S new film *Up*, from *Dumbo* to *The Wizard of Oz*, Richard Corliss overlooks another, earlier source of inspiration [May 18]. This is animation pioneer Winsor McCay's 1921 short film, in his *Dreams of the Rarebit Fiend* series, called *The Flying House*, in which the protagonist dreams that her husband adds wings and a propeller to their home and flies away into the universe to escape foreclosure.

*M. Thomas Inge, ASHLAND, VA.*

### A Wife's Tale

ELIZABETH EDWARDS PUT INTO WORDS exactly what it feels like to be betrayed by the one person you had trusted with your heart

and soul [May 18]. As a breast-cancer survivor who had a devastating experience with infidelity, I have walked in her shoes. Thankfully, my humiliation was less public, yet it was still as raw and painful. Edwards has handled her husband's failure with dignity and courage, strength and class. I salute her.

*Francine Bless, PLACENTIA, CALIF.*

THROUGH HER BOOK SALES, EDWARDS MAY be getting more satisfaction from her husband's affair than he ever did.

*Rich Redhill, LAKELAND, FLA.*

WHILE I EMPATHIZE WITH EDWARDS, SHE does not appear to hold her cheating husband too accountable. Affairs take two people, and she seems to place 99% of the blame on the other woman involved.

*Rose Richard, SIGNAL HILL, CALIF.*

### The Dream of Health Care

RE JOE KLEIN'S COLUMN ON UNIVERSAL health care [May 18]: One of my close friends suffered a heart aneurysm. Another got a diagnosis of breast cancer. A third had his business destroyed by an accidental fire. All three were denied payment on their insurance claims and, although they survived the initial crises, will be in crushing debt for the rest of their lives. While

Klein opines that in the debate over universal health care, the real war "will be fought over who gets covered and who decides," it is difficult to imagine that even a flawed government bureaucracy could be any more merciless and self-serving than the private insurance companies are now.

*Alexander Fox, CHARLESTON, S.C.*

### Pope Benedict in the Holy Land

RE "THE PONTIFF AND THE JEWS" [MAY 18]: Pope Benedict XVI is doing his job as a spiritual leader by recognizing both the Israelis and the Palestinians and their religions. Let's not use the past to sabotage the future of the peace initiative in the Middle East.

*Meg Hillert, DALLAS*

WHILE BEING RULED BY SO-CALLED MODERATE Muslims, the Christians in Bethlehem have been mistreated and forced to flee. Pope Benedict knows that Israel is the only place in the Middle East where Christians are safe, free and growing. He also knows that the so-called two-state solution, in its current form, would lead to the annihilation of Israel. I pray Roman Catholics will challenge the Vatican to change direction on this very dangerous, self-destructive road it is traveling.

*Douglas Miller, FRANKLIN, MICH.*

### 'I hope the strength and resilience Elizabeth Edwards has found will continue to serve her well.'

*Karen Katz, CLEVELAND*




**Messy affair** Edwards' openness about her pain in the face of infidelity drew fans and critics



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# Briefing

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## The Moment

5/18/09: Philadelphia

GOOD MORNING, GRADUATES, and congratulations. It's hard to believe how far you've come since freshman orientation, when you didn't even know the difference between the historical tyranny of patriarchal norms and the tyrannical patriarchy of normative historicity. *[Pause for knowing laughter.]* We hope these four years have been not just enlightening but also joyful, invigorating, even—dare we say—as lusty as a May meadow. Because, baby, the party's

over. *[Pause for rueful laughter.]*

We've got good news and bad news, graduates. Remember back in 1991, when you were about 4 years old and your parents were driving you from Montessori to tot-aerobics class? Mozart was on the car stereo, stimulating your little brain. And Mom explained that your future was all laid out. Your strong preschool record had placed you into a grade-school gifted-and-talented program, which, with hard work, would lead

to the Advanced Placement curriculum in high school. That—plus captaincy of the lacrosse team, strong test scores and a record of eco-conscious community activism—would lead to college, the key to a satisfying and rewarding job.

### To the graduating class of 2009: I'm afraid I have some bad news

The good news is, Mom was mostly right. Here you are! The bad news is, we're a little short on jobs. *[Pause for nervous chuckle.]* How short? We're down about 6 million since the bubble popped. When half a million new job-

less claims are filed in a single month, we call it an "improvement." And forget about older folks making room for you by retiring, because they can't afford to anymore.

Many of you already know this. According to a new survey, fewer of you are even looking for jobs than in previous classes, and 4 out of 5 of those searching have come up empty. The only green shoots you'll be seeing in this economy are the ones you'll be mowing at your parents' house.

But take heart, graduates! Every class harbors dreams of remaking the world. We've spared you the trouble of busting up the old one.

No need to thank us.

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



A South Korean protester at Burma's embassy in Bangkok poses as Suu Kyi behind bars

## 1 | **Rangoon**

### 'The Lady' on Trial

Democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi is facing a trial that must seem Kafkaesque even to a longtime victim of one of Asia's most repressive regimes. Confined to her home for most of the past two decades, Suu Kyi allegedly accepted a nighttime visit from an American who swam unbidden to her lakeside residence May 3. While the Nobel Peace laureate reportedly urged 53-year-old John Yettaw of Falcon, Mo., to leave, she is charged with violating the terms of her detention and faces up to five years in prison. Analysts call the trial a ploy by the junta to keep Suu Kyi behind bars during next year's elections; her arrest came days before her scheduled release. While Suu Kyi, 63, appeared composed and vibrant at the trial, British ambassador Mark Canning saw little hope for her release: "This is a story where the conclusion is already scripted, I'm afraid."

## 2 | **Washington**

### A New Battle Over Gitmo

Closing the U.S. detention facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, was never going to be easy. But the latest challenge comes from an unexpected quarter. Democrats in Congress, fearing the political repercussions of moving suspected terrorists to U.S. soil, have pulled \$80 million in funds for closing the prison—a political blow to President Obama, who on his second full day in office signed an Executive Order to shutter Gitmo. Congressional Democrats say the Administration, under fire for keeping Bush-era military tribunals for detainees, needs to develop a clearer plan for relocating prisoners.



Students in Japan, where 210 flu cases have been reported, second only to the U.S.

## 3 | **New York**

### Swine Flu Shuttters Schools

As the number of people affected by the H1N1 virus surpassed 10,000 worldwide, schools in the U.S., Mexico and other countries continued to close—despite a CDC statement calling the move ineffective in containing the illness. Japan has shut more than 4,000 schools; in states like Texas and New York—which reported its first flu death May 17—some students have been home for two weeks.

## 4 | **Washington**

### Congress Takes a Swipe at Credit-Card Issuers

The U.S. House and Senate have approved a major reform of the credit-card industry, limiting unpopular practices like abruptly hiking interest rates, issuing confusing agreements and peddling cards to minors. The banking industry warned that the bill, which would take effect in early 2010, could lead to more rejected credit applications and the return of annual fees.

#### Americans' Credit-Card Debt



SOURCE: THE NILSON REPORT

## 5 | **London**

### Ignoble Exit

Michael Martin became the first Speaker of the British House of Commons in 300 years to be ousted, resigning May 19 amid an outcry over his attempt to block London's Daily Telegraph from publishing details of lawmakers' expense-account abuses. So far, 80 members of Parliament have been singled out for absurd write-offs, from porn to diapers.



## 6 | **Kuwait**

### Women on Top

Four liberal-leaning female candidates were elected to Kuwait's 50-seat parliament on May 16, becoming the first to break through the country's political glass ceiling since women were given the rights to vote and run for office in 2005. Their victories were probably aided by voter frustration with the political turmoil and religious extremism of recent parliaments.

# Numbers:

# 19

MONTHS

Prison time served by former QB Michael Vick on dogfighting charges. He was moved to house arrest on May 20

# 41%

Percentage of Israel's Arab citizens who say the Holocaust never happened—up from 28% in 2006



## 7 | Sri Lanka

**AFTER 26 YEARS OF WAR, NOW WHAT?** The bloody civil war that has claimed more than 70,000 lives appeared to end on May 17 when Sri Lankan government forces overran the rebel Tamil Tigers' last redoubt, killing the group's leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran. As jubilant members of the ethnic Sinhalese majority celebrated in the streets, President Mahinda Rajapaksa took a first step toward reconciling the fractured nation by delivering a speech to Parliament in Tamil—the language of the insurgents and an estimated 265,000 civilians displaced by the recent offensive. The end of hostilities doesn't mean Tamil resentment has evaporated; foreign rights groups say Sri Lanka must move quickly to aid the war's refugees and mend the deep ethnic rift in order to prevent future bloodshed.

### Declared Nuclear-Weapons Programs



### Suspected/Undeclared



SOURCE: CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

## 8 | Islamabad

### Keeping Tabs on Pakistan's Nukes

Despite Pakistan's assurances that its nuclear materials are safe even amid increasing political instability, some U.S. officials are voicing concerns. Just days after Admiral Mike Mullen noted that there is evidence that Islamabad is adding to its nuclear arsenal (which it denies), CIA Director Leon Panetta admitted on May 18 that the U.S. does not know where all of Pakistan's nuclear weapons are located. A weapon falling into the hands of militants is "the last thing we want," Panetta said.

## 9 | Somalia

### Trouble, This Time by Land

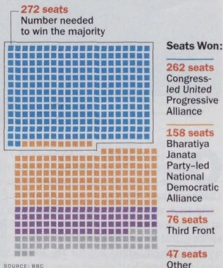
Somalia's pirates make the headlines, but the country's deteriorating political situation is worrying observers as well. On May 18, the militant Islamic group al-Shabaab wrested a second town in as many days from government forces. The clashes threaten to topple Sheikh Sharif Ahmed's U.N.-backed fledgling government—Somalia's 15th since 1991.

## 10 | New Delhi

### Getting Back to Business

At the end of a monthlong election with some 700 million eligible voters, India's ruling Congress Party led its center-left coalition to a resounding victory in the world's largest democratic election. Investors, buoyed by the likely continuation of Congress's market-friendly economic reforms, pushed the Bombay stock exchange up more than 17% on the news. Now able to jettison its far-left allies, Congress may press for bigger changes, particularly in energy policy, infrastructure, health care and education.

### Who Holds India's Parliament Seats:



(RECESSION



WATCH)

If you're recently unemployed and worried about the cost of medication, Pfizer wants to help. The world's largest pharmaceutical firm announced plans to provide free one-year supplies of more than 70 of its most widely prescribed drugs—including Viagra and Lipitor—to Americans laid off since Jan. 1 who have been taking the drugs for at least three months. Sure beats sneaking them in from Canada.

1,700

Number of child-abuse claims examined in an investigation of Ireland's church-run orphanages from the 1930s to the 1990s; the report, filled with cases of rape and torture, runs 2,600 pages

63

Rating, on a scale of 1 to 100, of customer satisfaction with U.S. newspapers—lower than those for airlines and cell-phone service providers

# A Brief History Of:

## The Tonight Show



**O**N MAY 29, JAY LENO HANDS OVER *THE TONIGHT SHOW* to Conan O'Brien, ending a 17-year run behind one of the most hallowed desks in show business—on a program that has barely changed since its debut more than 50 years ago.

In 1951, when most stations either went off the air at 11 p.m. or turned to B movies for late-night filler, NBC started a comedy series called *Broadway Open House*. The program lasted only a year, but it paved the way for *The Tonight Show*. Created as a 90-minute catchall variety show in 1954, *The Tonight Show* formed a template for late-night TV that everyone from Arsenio Hall to Jimmy Kimmel has since followed: witty banter, famous guests and eccentric sidekicks. Its first M.C., talk-show veteran Steve Allen, gave way just three years later to the unpredictable Jack Paar. In 1962, Paar left the show in the hands of a 36-year-old game-show host, Johnny Carson, who turned *The Tonight Show* from a success into a legend. (At one point, it accounted for 17% of NBC's revenue.) Carson's affable charm helped snag top-notch guests like Nelson Rockefeller, although his highest ratings came when 40 million people saw ukulele player Tiny Tim marry a 17-year-old fan on the air in 1969.

Carson's 30-year run inspired emulators from Joan Rivers to Chevy Chase, and his 1992 retirement prompted a bitter succession war between David Letterman, the sardonic host of NBC's *Late Night*, and Leno, a comedian. The network's choice of Leno prompted a round of musical chairs in which Letterman defected to CBS, making room for O'Brien—a gawky comedy writer with almost no on-air experience—to take over *Late Night*. While O'Brien moves to the top spot this month, Leno isn't going anywhere: he'll create a new 10 p.m. talk show in the fall. —BY CLAIRE SUDDATH

**Heere's Johnny** Carson chats with Letterman on *The Tonight Show* in 1982; he was believed to favor Letterman over Leno

### LATE-NIGHT LANDMARKS

**1960 Jack Paar** quits midshow after one of his jokes is cut. He says, "There must be a better way to make a living



than this." He returns a month later and admits, "Well, I looked... There isn't."

**1971 Health expert Jerome Rodale, 72, dies on *The Dick Cavett Show*. The episode is never aired**

**1992 Presidential candidate Bill Clinton** dons shades and plays the sax on *The Arsenio Hall Show*

**2009 Barack Obama** talks to Jay Leno, becoming the first sitting U.S. President to do late-night TV



### THE SKIMMER



### Bloggers on the Bus: How the Internet Changed Politics and the Press

By Eric Boehlert  
Free Press; 280 pages

BARACK OBAMA'S CLUMSIEST misstep on the campaign trail—his infamous reference to "bitter" small-town voters clinging to guns and religion—would have gone unnoticed if not for the sharp ears and ready laptop of blogger Mayhill Fowler. Her scoop blindsided professional reporters and roiled the primary race—one of many instances in which Internet muckrakers made a difference in the campaign, argues Eric Boehlert. The former Salon and *Rolling Stone* writer calls this liberal "netroots" movement the strongest political force since the Christian right—one that, oddly, draws scant attention from the mainstream press. Boehlert finds engaging stories among his eccentric band of activists, including the paralegal who scored a personal call from Obama for running the candidate's largest MySpace fan page. But those profiles get bogged down in grinding detail and tiresome accounts of blogosphere squabbling. A less fawning treatment might also acknowledge drawbacks to a medium that, like talk radio on the right, too often amplifies rage over reason.

—BY RANDY JAMES

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# Verbatim

'The era of apologizing for Republican mistakes of the past is now officially over. It is done.'

**MICHAEL STEELE**, Republican National Committee chairman, during a speech to fellow GOP leaders about the party's future

'The taste of victory is the burden of responsibility.'

**DALIA GRYBAUSKAITE**, outgoing European Union budget commissioner, on being the first woman elected President of Lithuania

'This has the makings of a really bad movie.'

**TERESITA SCHAFFER**, an analyst at the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, on the prospect of Zalmay Khalilzad, George W. Bush's former ambassador to Afghanistan, being awarded a key post in the Afghan government

'The people in the south treat the northeast as a subrace of Brazilians.'

**ROBERTO QUIÑERO**, a market owner in Pedreiras, Brazil, criticizing government relief efforts after flooding in the region forced more than 260,000 people from their homes

'Took 'em long enough.'

**PAUL HOUSE**, a 47-year-old former death-row inmate, on learning he had been exonerated after 22 years in a Tennessee prison

'This is about being a true-blooded American guy and girl.'

**A.J. LOWENTHAL**, a deputy sheriff in Imperial County, Calif., on a Boy Scouts-affiliated program that teaches teens how to fight terrorism and illegal immigration

'I'd just been on a trip to Minnesota, where I can only kindly describe most of the people I saw as little houses.'

**ANNA WINTOUR**, editor of *Vogue*, on the prevalence of obesity in the U.S.



## Back & Forth:

### Pentagon

'It is God's will that by doing good you should silence the ignorant talk of foolish men.'

A biblical passage adorning a **PENTAGON REPORT** on Saddam Hussein during the early phases of the war in Iraq in 2003, according to GQ writer Robert Draper, who claims Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld regularly included Scripture in reports submitted to President George W. Bush

'The suggestion that Rumsfeld would have used these reports to somehow curry favor over at the White House is pretty laughable.'

**LAWRENCE DI RITA**, former Pentagon spokesman, denying that such verses were used to appeal to the President's religious beliefs



### Prison

'It doesn't make sense that our citizens should have to pay for the irresponsible behavior of others in these tough economic times.'

**JEFFREY MERRELL**, prosecutor for Missouri's Taney County, defending a new policy of charging inmates \$45 per night for room and board

'Really, it's a poor person's tax.'

**SEAN O'BRIEN**, a professor at the University of Missouri at Kansas City's law school, saying such fees unfairly affect struggling families

### LEXICON

#### La Costa Nostra n.—

The Italian Mafia's nickname for Spain, which translates as "Our Coast"

**USAGE:** "Neapolitan gangsters, including the alleged fugitive boss captured Saturday night in the city of Marbella, have a name for Spain: La Costa Nostra... The term plays off Cosa Nostra, or Our Thing, as the Mafia is called, and underscores what authorities say: that Spain has become a top base for the Naples underworld."

—Los Angeles Times, May 19, 2009



## SHOCKING



**WOODY ALLEN**  
settles with American

A photograph of a man's head, which appears to be a cutout, placed on top of a large, light-colored ice cream cone. The man has dark hair and is smiling. The background is a plain, light color.

## SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

# Milestones



## Susanna Agnelli

THE EYES OF SUSANNA (SUNI) Agnelli, as befits a scion of Italy's Fiat-founding first family, could at the same time cast an imperious patrician stare and display a wry twinkle. Larger than life in multiple realms, Agnelli,

who died May 15 at 87, was a best-selling memoirist (*We Always Wore Sailor Suits* was the title of one), mother of six, advice columnist, politician, diplomat and innovative philanthropist.

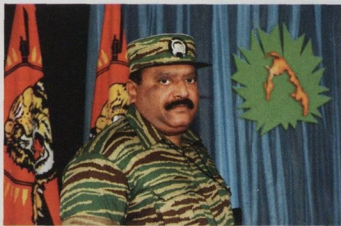
While her brother Gianni ran the car company founded by their grandfather, Suni drifted into politics. In 1974, she became the mayor of her Tuscan coastal village in an effort to save it from rapacious developers. She was eventually elected to Parliament and, in 1995, became Italy's first (and so far only) female Foreign Minister. Blunt and intuitive, with an imposing frame crowned by a mane of white hair, she made sure that Italy played a prominent role in negotiations to end the Bosnian war, at one point delivering a memorable

tongue-lashing to her friend U.S. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. "She conveyed an impression of great amusement at the passing parade of overly intense men formulating policy," Holbrooke wrote.

In her advice column for the glossy weekly *Oggi*, she could also be brusque. When a woman wrote to ask what to do about her husband—who was having an affair with the babysitter—Agnelli answered, "To change a husband is complicated. Changing the babysitter is easier, but remember to get an ugly one." After her brother's death in 2003, she worked to keep control of Fiat in the family and lived long enough to see the once troubled

automaker poised to take over Chrysler.

—BY WALTER ISAACSON



## Velupillai Prabhakaran

THE REST OF THE WORLD might never understand the violence Velupillai Prabhakaran stood for, but its imprint on Sri Lanka is wide and deep. For 26 years, the elusive leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had waged war with the government to win an independent

homeland, or *eelam*, for the island's Tamil minority. The struggle claimed more than 70,000 lives—including, on May 18, Prabhakaran's. The government says he was killed, along with 17 of his trusted lieutenants, while fleeing an army ambush.

Prabhakaran, 54, was born to a middle-class fam-

ily on the Jaffna Peninsula. Incensed by discrimination against Tamils and radicalized by a militant grade-school teacher, Prabhakaran founded the LTTE in 1976, a year after a group he headed claimed responsibility for killing Jaffna's mayor. By 1983 the guerrilla movement—which pioneered suicide bombings and the recruitment of child soldiers—escalated the fighting into a civil war.

At the height of his power earlier this decade, Prabhakaran led a de facto government that controlled vast swaths of territory and boasted its own systems of taxes, roads and courts. As the army closed in, he allegedly used thousands of Tamil civilians as human shields.

By the final days, just 250 LTTE members remained. They died too, along with the dream of *eelam*. —BY JYOTI THOTTAM



**DIED** After 12 seasons as a standout power forward in the NBA, **Wayman Tisdale, 44**, turned to music. Tisdale, whose first love was the guitar, embarked on a stellar second act as a chart-topping bass player.

■ His 1975 photograph of an American helicopter evacuation is as indelible an image as any we have of the Vietnam War. Then a photographer for United Press



International, **Hugh Van Es, 67**, snapped the iconic picture from a balcony at the Peninsula Hotel in Saigon. The photo netted

him a Pulitzer Prize nomination—and a \$150 bonus.

■ In 1971, **Newt Heisley, 88**, submitted his stark design for the flag used to memorialize prisoners of war and soldiers who have gone missing in action. Bearing



the inscription "You are not forgotten," it still flies from federal

buildings on occasions like Memorial Day and Veterans Day.

■ Founding the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center in 1958 made **Edwin Shneidman, 91**, a pioneer in the field of suicide psychology. He later started a national prevention project that helped blunt the stigma associated with the act.

**CONVICTED** On May 19, former Democratic Party fundraiser **Norman Hsu, 58**, was found guilty of campaign-finance fraud. He faces up to 20 years in prison for the conviction and another 20 for operating a Ponzi scheme, to which he pleaded guilty.

**WON** In a stunning finish, **Rachel Alexandra, 3**, held off Kentucky Derby winner Mine That Bird to become the first filly to capture the Preakness Stakes in 85 years. The two will square off at the Belmont Stakes, the Triple Crown's final leg, on June 6.





James

# Poniewozik

## Change, the Channel. With their new schedules, TV networks try to figure out how to deliver good times in hard times

IF YOU'VE BEEN WATCHING HGTV IN THE past few years, you may have become seduced by its lavish renovations and tales of real estate riches. You may have decided to stretch your budget to buy your own overpriced house. And you may now, like the contestants on HGTV's newest reality show, wish you had a little cash to get out of the hole. Say, a quarter-million bucks.

HGTV's \$250,000 Challenge, debuting May 31, is set in housing-busted Sherman Oaks, Calif., where five families compete in a home-renovation contest to win the titular sum. One family sank everything into a home it bought a year and a half ago, which has since lost \$150,000 in value. A single mom faces foreclosure. A laid-off father of two says, "Unless we win this, we could be the next FOR SALE sign on this block."

To see the perpetually optimistic HGTV announce so frankly that home-owners are up a creek is like watching Dick Cheney go on *Meet the Press* to declare that waterboarding is torture. But HGTV is hardly the only network trying to figure out how the recession and a political shift have changed America. The underlying question at the just completed network "upfronts," or fall-schedule presentations to advertisers, was, If we are truly becoming a different society—more abstemious, more modest in our ambitions, more community-focused, or just poorer—what will this new society blow its time watching on the tube?

The networks today are in the delicate position of promising that their new shows will help advertisers sell

things—by capturing the spirit of a new age in which no one is buying. Including the advertisers, who are expected to spend up to 20% less on airtime this year.

So TV programmers, trying to read viewers' minds, are facing the same questions politicians are: Do Americans want to confront their problems or escape them? Is the change in the U.S. strictly an economic and temporary one, or is there



a deeper, lasting transformation in the country's outlook and values? Have our souls changed, or just our bank balances?

Several networks, betting that viewers want to give the Great Recession a big, cathartic bear hug, have announced new shows about the little guy struggling and the big guy brought low. On ABC's *Hank*, a CEO gets downsized; on Fox's *Brothers*, an NFL star goes broke; and on the same network's *Sons of Tucson*, a banker goes to jail for corporate crimes. (In Hollywood, they call that wish fulfillment.) The reality-show premises are even starker: "desperate" entrepreneurs plead for financing on ABC's *Shark Tank*; on Fox's *Somebody's Gotta Go*, employees of an actual small business each week will vote on which one of them should be laid off; on CBS's *Undercover Boss*, execs take on dirty jobs in their own compa-

nies. The History channel, meanwhile, announced a reality series about a Las Vegas pawnshop.

Other programmers are banking on a broader change in mind-set for the Obama era. MTV, which spent most of the Bush Administration blinging out with *Cribs* and *My Super Sweet 16*, is slotting more idealistic shows, on the theory that young millennials want uplift now. But it's keeping *The Hills*, just in case.

TV networks (again, like politicians) tell us what we tell ourselves: that changing times make us changed people, even as we revert to age-old patterns. (This season

on 24, Jack Bauer sounded ambivalent about torture but roughed up people anyway.) The zeitgeist makes convenient wrapping to repack the same sitcoms, hospital dramas and game shows: what was "comfort food" after 9/11, "optimism" in boom times and "inspiration" after Hurricane Katrina is "escapism" today.

When TV reflects a shift in the public mood, it often does so counterintuitively: 24 thrived under Bush, but so did *The West Wing*; Norman Lear's progressive comedies flourished under Nixon. And for all the change in the news, our top-rated shows remain *American Idol* and crime dramas, as they have been for years.

That said, TV, like dreams, can speak more obliquely. Last year's big dramas were *The Mentalist*, *Lie to Me* and *House*—jaded hits for the era of Katrina and the subprime disaster, based on the premise that people lie all the time. Maybe 2009's America—the country that swooned over Susan Boyle—will respond to we're-all-in-this-together shows like Fox's underdog musical *Glee* or NBC's aptly named sitcom *Community*, about a diverse group of misfits getting a new start at a junior college.

Chances are, though, that the most literal efforts to turn the recession into entertainment will—like past network trend-chasing—end up being too repetitive and too far behind the curve. In which case, pray for the networks to make as many series as possible about the lousy economy. That'll be the surest sign that the recession is almost over. ■

**Programmers are facing the same question politicians are: Do Americans want to confront their problems or escape them?**

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Joe

# Klein

## Terrorism on Trial. Amid the mudslinging, we still haven't found a good way to prosecute enemy combatants. Here's one

"THE SOLDIER AND THE LAWYER MAY both love this country with equal passion," Barack Obama said in his elegant Notre Dame commencement speech, "and yet reach very different conclusions on the specific steps needed to protect us from harm." You can say that again. In recent weeks, the President and just about every other major politician from both parties have been boggled by soldier-lawyer disputes. Some have been small: whether or not House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was adequately briefed on the CIA's use of waterboarding in 2002. Others cut to the core of asymmetrical warfare, especially the question of what sort of rights to grant prisoners captured in a war that is likely to be fought in perpetuity against an amorphous, stateless enemy.

**Soldiers and lawyers live at opposite intellectual extremes.** Lawyers—at least those who deal with constitutional questions—live in an abstract world of seemingly precise codicils, which often turn out to be maddeningly inadequate when confronted by the violent imprecision of war. Soldiers in combat live in the existential horror of right now; their decisions save or cost lives. The best of them understand the need for rules, but don't have the luxury of abstraction. And so, Guantánamo: the lawyers defend the rights of the detainees, the soldiers fear the consequences of granting undue rights to villainous fanatics—and the Obama Administration has to adjudicate.

It shouldn't be too hard to find a middle ground, theoretically. The soldier and lawyer arguments are being made, in this case, by unappealing extremists. The lawyers, led by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), believe that the

detainees should be treated, more or less, under the civil-justice system as described by Article III of the Constitution. The soldiers, misled by former Vice President Dick Cheney, believe that in a time of war, the President has unlimited ability to set the rules necessary to protect the nation. "They're both wrong," says Senator Lindsey Graham, a lawyer-soldier who still serves as a JAG in the Air Force Reserve. "You need a hybrid system, which is why I favor military commissions."



A "hybrid" system would address the conflict between the rules of evidence and national-security needs. Obama has addressed one major objection to military commissions by proposing that evidence gleaned from coercive interrogations be inadmissible. The less melodramatic but more serious problem has to do with secrecy. The Bush—and now the Obama—Administration argues that much of the evidence accumulated against the detainees can't be revealed in open court, since it comes from top-secret intelligence sources and surveillance systems, as well as from third-country intelligence services that refuse to testify in U.S. proceedings. According to Chris Anders of the ACLU, an existing statute allows for classified evidence to be summarized, without source, for civilian courts. "The trouble is, in open court, the judges and the defense lawyers always want to know the source of the information," says former CIA director Michael Hayden, who says he made a

good-faith effort to cooperate in one civil terrorism case, "and we just can't go there."

Senator Graham favors the modifications to the military-commission system that Obama has proposed—and he favors one more: "Let's not kid ourselves. We're handing out de facto life sentences here, and there should be some sort of civilian review." So Graham—who believes these procedures should be applied to the prisoners both at Guantánamo and in Afghanistan—has proposed a National Security Court, similar to the panel that adjudicates FISA (Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act) cases. The proceedings would be closed, but civilian judges would have top-secret clearance to review all the evidence in every case brought before a military commission. That seems an eminently reasonable middle course to me.

**Most of the other issues swirling in** the lawyer-soldier tornado are either trivial or meretricious. The recent fuss over where to put the Guantánamo prisoners is tawdry politics, incited by desperate Republicans with the supine complicity of congressional Democrats. There are plenty of convicted terrorists currently serving time in U.S. jails. That's why we have

supermax prisons, like Administrative Maximum in Florence, Colo. Those convicted in military courts should be held in military prisons.

The question of whether to release additional photos of U.S. personnel torturing Iraqis is more difficult, but I believe the President's decision to block the release is the right one. The photos add nothing to our knowledge of this despicable behavior—and may well detract from the security of our people serving overseas. I must admit a bias here: my son is a U.S. diplomat serving in Baghdad. His residence is rocketed almost every night. The threat to his safety from Iraqis infuriated by these photos is not theoretical. For me, this reality—lived each day by hundreds of thousands of parents of soldiers, diplomats and aid workers—transcends the redundant right to know something we already know. It is simple common sense—the quality that should be foremost as Barack Obama addresses these issues. ■

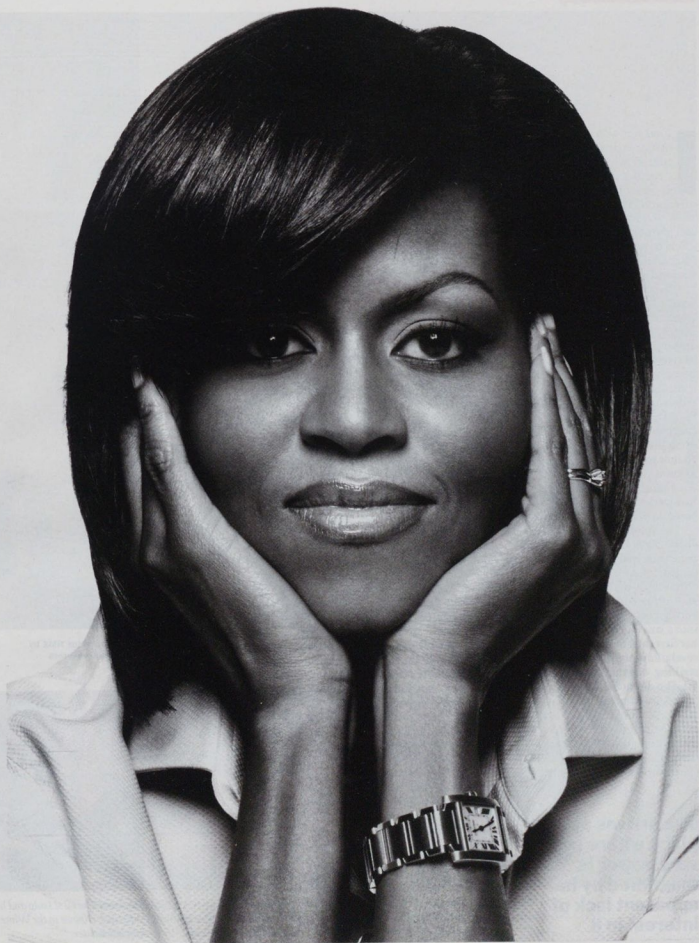
**A National Security Court would give civilian judges clearance to review all the evidence**

NATION

She's beaten back criticism and caricature to become the most watched First Lady in a generation. An intimate look at how Michelle Obama is changing the White House—and America—forever

# Michelle Up Close

BY NANCY GIBBS AND MICHAEL SCHERER



Photograph for TIME by Platon

IT WAS JUST TWO DAYS AFTER THE Inauguration when an e-mail went around to Michelle Obama's staff, instructing everyone to be in the East Room of the White House at 3 that afternoon. The First Lady's advisers arrived to find the room filled with ushers and plumbers, electricians and maids and kitchen crew gathered in a huge circle, and Michelle in a T-shirt and ponytail, very casual and very much in charge.

"This is my team that came with me from Chicago," Michelle said, pointing to her communications staff and policy people. "This is my team who works here already," she went on, indicating the ring of veterans around the room. Many of the household staff had served for decades; some had postponed retirement because they wanted to serve an African-American President. And so the two groups formed concentric rings and spent the next hour or so making sure that everyone had a chance to meet everyone else. I want you to know that you won't be judged based on whether they know your name, Michelle had warned her advisers. You'll be judged based on whether you know theirs.

The White House became as much Michelle Obama's stage as her husband's even before she colored the fountains green for St. Patrick's Day, or mixed the Truman china with the World's Fair glasses at a state dinner, or installed beehives on the South Lawn, or turned the East Room into a jazz lounge for a night or sacrificed her first sock to the First Puppy. Of all the revelations of her first 100 days, the most striking was that she made it seem natural. She did not spend decades dreaming of this destination, and maybe that's the secret. "I'm not supposed to be here," she says again and again. And ever since she arrived, she has been asking, "What are the things that we can do differently here, the things that have never been done, the

people who've never seen or experienced this White House?"

Three generations, two adorable girls and a dog—no First Family has lived with the weight of hope and hype that has landed on the Obamas. Clothes they wear fly off the shelves. Dog breeders from Germany to Australia couldn't keep up with the demand for Portuguese water dogs after Bo debuted. Michelle is the first First Lady to make *Maxim's* hottest-women-in-the-world list. (She's No. 93; it probably wouldn't be proper for a First Lady to come in any higher.) Cameras with lenses that can count her pores from three states away are trained on her around the clock. Former East Wing veterans marvel at the lovesick coverage she gets: when Oscar de la Renta questions her fashion sense—"You don't... go to Buckingham Palace in a sweater"—the response is, essentially, Well, what does he know? This is what a paradigm shift looks like.

The question now is what she plans to do with all this attention. We ask the usual questions of any new First Lady: What is she really like? How does she see her role? But it is only of Michelle Obama that we ask, What does she mean? Few First Ladies have embedded themselves so quickly in the world's imagination. And none have traveled so far, not just from Chicago's South Side to the East Wing, but from the caricatured Angry Black Woman of last spring to her exalted status as a New American Icon, as if her arrival will magically reverse eight years of anti-American spitballing, elevate the black middle class, promote family values, give voice to the voiceless and inspire us all to live healthier, more generous lives.

She admits that the sheer symbolic power of the role is perhaps greater than she anticipated. "I tried not to come into this with too many expectations one way or the other," she says on a sunny May afternoon in her East Wing office. "I felt like part of my job—and I still feel like that—is to be open to where this needs to go." She's always shown a shrewd eye for the strategic detour, suspending her career in favor of helping her husband get elected, then getting her daughters settled and her garden planted and, in the process, disarming the critics who cast her as a black radical in a designer dress. She will say she's just doing what comes naturally. But whether

Photographs for TIME by  
Callie Shell—Aurora



Time-out The First Lady and her staff catch a movie in the White House's theater

**She arrives at a place where her very power is magnified by her apparent lack of interest in it**



**In the wings** *Staying loose before a museum event with New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg*



**Backstage** *With Caroline Kennedy and Jill Biden, Obama attends the opening night of the American Ballet Theatre*



**First Family summit** *Malia with her parents during negotiations over the family dog, Bo*

by accident or design, or a little of both, she has arrived at a place where her very power is magnified by her apparent lack of interest in it. "Over the years, the role of First Lady has been perceived as largely symbolic," Hillary Clinton observed in her memoirs. "She is expected to represent an ideal—and largely mythical—concept of American womanhood." That was not Clinton's favorite part of the job. Maybe this is Michelle's true advantage: she appears at peace, even relieved, that her power is symbolic rather than institutional. It makes her less threatening, and more potent at the same time—especially since her presence at the White House has unique significance.

The great-great-granddaughter of slaves now occupies a house built by them, one of the most professionally accomplished First Ladies ever cheerfully chooses to call herself Mom in Chief, and the South Side girl whose motivation often came from defying people who tried to stop her now gets to write her own set of rules.

### Getting to Know You

JUST A YEAR AGO, MORE PEOPLE HAD A poor opinion of Michelle Obama (35%) than a good one (30%). During the primaries especially, she was too hot, and not in the way *Maxim* means it. She talked about America as being "just downright mean," and lazy, and cynical, how life for most people had "gotten progressively worse throughout my lifetime." Seeing an opportunity, conservative critics dubbed her Mrs. Grievance, called her bitter and anti-American, to the point that her husband had to defend her patriotism and call the attacks on her "detestable."

Her portrayal may have been a caricature, but it was also taking a toll. People who traveled with her from the earliest days in Iowa say she was a quick study, receptive to feedback on what was working and what wasn't. She began talking less about the country's problems and more about its promise. By the time the *New Yorker* parodied the parody of her as a machine-gun-toting revolutionary, she was reintroducing herself at the Democratic Convention as a wife, a mother, a sister and a daughter, listing why she loved her country and why her husband was the man to lead it.

And so the debate about What She



Means shifted again, but this time it was feminists wondering if she or her handlers were using the J. Crew twin sets and Donna Reed hair to reassure white voters that "she's just like you." Under the liberal magnifying glass, Michelle was suddenly a victim, forced by her husband's ambitions and society's expectations to tone it down, soften it up, step back. "How will Michelle Obama feel as she becomes what she has long resisted—an extension of her husband?" asked Rebecca Traister in a Salon article called "The Modification of Michelle Obama." She was giving up her job, her \$212,000-a-year salary and her independence, which prompted the commentariat to lament the sacrifices she was having to make in terms of her identity. Even her own mother told PEOPLE that "Michelle had worked so hard to get where she was. I kind of feel bad for her."

Asked about this analysis now, Michelle rejects the idea that she has had to sacrifice at all. "I know women who have given up a lot of themselves," she says. "And there were times in my marriage where I put stuff aside. This isn't one of those times." And she didn't change, she insists; people just had time to get to know her. On the other hand, she brought to the White House

**Ladies' night** Celebrities, staffers and students rock the White House at a dinner held to honor Women's History Month

a longtime friend and marketing executive who, as social secretary, describes her job as managing "the Obama brand." In any case, by the time she held the Bible for her husband on Inauguration Day, her approval rating had jumped nearly 40 points. And she was just getting started.

### Girl Power

AFTER FOUR MONTHS IN THE WHITE HOUSE and two years on the campaign trail, she's learned how to help people relax around her so she can get down to business. She makes fun of herself and of her husband, and teases a male reporter about his struggle to accurately describe her outfit during her European tour. "You didn't know you'd be covering cardigans," she says, but that's O.K., since her husband doesn't know cable-knit from argyle either. When she tries to explain why she's constantly hugging people, she reaches out and grabs your arm and holds it. It'd be intimidating too to meet the First Lady, she says. "That's why



### Michelle in Words and Photos

To read the full transcript of her interview, see more behind-the-scenes pictures and trace her evolution as a fashion icon, go to [time.com/michelle\\_obama](http://time.com/michelle_obama)



I'm so touchy with kids, because I think if I touch them and I hug them, that they'll see that it's real, and then they'll relax and breathe and actually kind of enjoy the time and make use of it."

Put her in a room with black teenage girls and her message couldn't be more radical or more all-American: Anyone can be anything if they are willing to work hard enough at it. This is inspiration with an edge. The honors student who wrote her Princeton thesis about being black in the Ivy League knows that the difference between success and failure can be cruelly random. She knew lots of bright kids growing up, she says, "and you slowly see people slipping through the cracks, you know that there but for the grace of God." She had friends who could have thrived in college, but their parents didn't believe in going into debt to pay for it. "I saw kids like me who were using their loan money to help their parents pay the electric bill, and therefore they'd run out of money for books and couldn't feed themselves over the course of the semester ... So I just keep thinking about those kids who are missing opportunities by a hair, by a breath, by a parent, by a teacher, by a dollar amount, and I'm kind of working to make up some of that

## Q&A

# 'Find Your Space. Find Your Spot. Wear What You Love.'

**MICHELLE OBAMA HASN'T FOUND THE** time to fill the bookshelves in her East Wing office yet. But she spent nearly an hour in early May with *TIME*'s Michael Scherer and Nancy Gibbs to discuss her first few months as one of the world's most watched women. Some excerpts:

**ON HER CHILDHOOD** We were so blessed, my brother and I, because we had everything you needed. It had nothing to do with money, but we had two parents who loved us, a father that had a steady job all of his life. We had a strong external-family unit. I grew up with grandparents and uncles and aunts. People didn't go to college, but you had Christmas dinner together. The neighborhood that I lived in wasn't wealthy, but it wasn't crime-ridden, so you could play in the streets. And there were gangs, but there weren't gangs that would keep you from going to school.

**ON RAISING KIDS IN THE WHITE HOUSE** We stay 100% in their world all the time. And I don't know if you understand that, but their lives are very disconnected from this [place]. You can do that with kids when they are young, because they just don't care.

**ON THE NEW HOUSE** It has been the greatest single benefit of this for us as a family. It means that we see each other every day. And that hasn't happened for most of the kids' lifetime. It's rare to have Dad at home for dinner, to see him in the mornings, to have him there when you go to bed at night, just to be able to have the casual conversations that happen about life at dinnertime. That's been terrific. It's normal. It's more normal than we've had for a very long time.

**ON STRESS** I figure I can turn it off. He can't. And knowing that he can't—that there probably isn't a minute that goes by that he's not worrying, thinking, dealing, mulling something around in his head, that there's no real time that he can be down, and just knowing how stressful that is on a person—that's a tough thing to watch. But he handles it so well that he even gives me a sense of calm.

**ON BEING A ROLE MODEL** There are thousands of Michelle and Barack Obamas all over this nation. That is true. I know them. I've gone to school with them. I live with them. There are thousands of role models like me. I just happen to be the First Lady.

**ON ADVICE FROM FORMER FIRST LADIES** The most unexpected and uniform advice that I got was, Go to Camp David early and often. It's one place you can go where you feel some level of freedom and an ability to breathe. I think every single First Lady felt that was an important resource, an important opportunity, an important thing for the health of the family.

**ON WOMEN'S CHOICES** Find your space. Find your spot. Wear what you love. Choose the careers that may have meaning to you, because there's always somebody who will say, "I wouldn't have worn that color," or "Why didn't you work at that job?" But if you're comfortable in the choice and it resonates with you, then all that other stuff—it's just conversation. People have the right to have conversations. But I think that's one thing we as women sometimes do—we don't make choices that have meaning to us. And then when those things fall apart, you have to have yourself to fall back on.

**ON THOSE WHO SAY SHE IS SACRIFICING FOR HER HUSBAND** Those conversations had nothing to do with me. A lot of times, women feel like they give up so much in comparison to their partner, or in life, for whatever. I don't look at doors closing. If I thought that I'd be shortchanged in any way, and if [Barack] thought I'd be shortchanged in any way, we wouldn't have done this.

**ON WHAT COMES NEXT** I'm 45 years old. When this is over and my kids are grown ... I'll still be in the prime of my professional life, as far as I see it. If I'm alive and work till I'm 80, that's a lot of good years of doing a whole bunch of things that sort of fit into my particular line of work. And I don't even know what that is yet. ■

difference to the extent that I think I can."

One of her fantasies during the campaign was that in her White House, famous people wouldn't just come in; they would go out into the community too. So on a cool day in March, she dispatched a regiment of role models to schools across Washington, including singers Alicia Keys and Sheryl Crow, Ann Dunwoody, the first female four-star general, and Mae Jemison, the first African-American woman to travel into space. Michelle visited Anacostia High School, where violence is common and signs on the walls tell students which baby supplies will be available through the Baby Bonus Bucks Redemption Program. She sat with a group of 10 girls and three boys, who had been chosen, she told them, because "somebody in your school thought that you had a lot of potential." She recalled how she had lived close to the University of Chicago but never set foot inside growing up. "It was a fancy college, and it didn't have anything to do with me." Maybe you feel the same way about the White House, she suggested. "There are so many kids like that," she observes, "who are living inches away from power and prestige and fame and fortune, and they don't even know that it exists."

Which is why that night, the women leaders reassembled at the White House for a dinner with more than 100 students from schools across the city to celebrate Women's History Month. Tonight is your night, Michelle told the girls. So don't be shy. "Poke and prod and figure out how [these women] got to be where they are and what you can do in your lives to get yourselves ready for that next step. Tonight we just want to say, Go for it! Don't hesitate. Don't act with fear. Just go for it." Because all the women in the room, she told the girls, see a little bit of ourselves in you.

"It's one of those events," she says looking back, "that stand out in my mind as, This is why I'm here."

### White House Life

AFTER BARACK OBAMA WAS ELECTED TO the Senate, people asked Michelle if she'd be moving to Washington. "I was like, no," she says. "All my support is the support you build up over the years. It is my mom, girlfriends—you move away from everything." But when he won the White House, Michelle effectively moved her support system with her, not just her mother but old friends who are scattered throughout both the East and West wings. Other longtime Chicago friends are occasional visitors and joined the Obamas for spring break, as they have for the past several years—but this year the gathering took place at Camp David. Among the traditions



**Multiple roles** With *New York City* public-school students, top; sharing a laugh with her staff on a trip to London, above

is a talent show, with everyone required to perform. This year Michelle demonstrated her skills with two hula hoops; Obama and the men sang "You Are the Sunshine of My Life." The visits typically include charades, singing, board games—although now that the Obamas are making use of the White House bowling alley and pool table, the other families tease them by saying they'll refuse to play any games that the Obamas can practice in the new house.

As strange as White House life can be, it is providing Michelle a kind of balance she has seldom known. From roughly the time their first child was born, her husband was commuting to the state capital, the nation's capital or the campaign trail. Michelle all but charged him with abandonment, as he described in *The Audacity of Hope*: "You only think about yourself," she would tell me. "I never thought I'd have to raise a family alone."

Winning the presidency was the ticket to at least one kind of normality. "Among the many wonderful things about being

President," Barack tells *TIME*, "the best is that I get to live above the office and see Michelle and the kids every day. I see them in the morning. We have dinner every night. It is the thing that sustains me." The President refers to what he calls "Michelle time," when he takes a break during the day and retreats to the residence. Semi-regularly, Michelle appears in the West Wing with the dog or their daughters for a brief but lively interruption. The family does "roses and thorns" around the dinner table, with all of them saying something good and something bad that happened to them that day. "And if the kids really, really need to see him, they can," she says. "They're free to walk in. They're welcome wherever they want to go around here." But they can also just ignore him, since they know he's around. "That's been terrific," she says. "It's more normal than we've had for a very long time."

Michelle's day starts at dawn, when she walks the dog and then hits the treadmill; she's had the same personal trainer for about 10 years, who has relocated to Washington from Chicago. There are no regularly scheduled meetings with her staff and never any meetings before the girls go to school. She tells aides which days she wants to be "on"; she can concentrate all her public





events into a couple of days a week, leaving her free to sit in a lawn chair at the soccer field watching the girls play. Then there are the parent-teacher conferences, the play, the birthday party, the calls with parents to discuss the sleeper. "Kids force you into a normalcy," she says, "that, you know, it even trumps this [place] in some ways."

The Obamas' marriage has a history of tension around chores: as his career took him away for long stretches, Barack admitted, "my failure to clean up the kitchen suddenly became less endearing." Michelle smiles about this and says, "That's off the table." Now they live in a house with 35 bathrooms and in which all domestic tasks are taken care of. "She thinks it's nice that people play 'Hail to the Chief,'" the President says. "But I still am expected for family dinner on time, and I still have to walk the dog." He gets the night shift, Michelle says. "That's usually right before bed. It's like 10 p.m. We sort of handle Bo like we did the kids. I'm the early-morning person ... Once I go to bed, I don't care what happens. Just make sure the dog doesn't have an accident." She talks about the dog with the smitten tone of a girl who never had one of her own before. She walks him frequently, sometimes every couple of hours. "He's getting to the point where he can be

**Stealing a moment** *The President and Michelle in the Diplomatic Reception Room of the White House prior to receiving Ireland's Prime Minister*

naughty," she says, "like you walk in the room and it's like, 'Where'd you get that sock?'" The family has learned to limit Bo's range of potential destruction by keeping doors closed. "We try to set him up for success," she says with a knowing smile.

Maybe this is what women watching her covet: not the clothes or the glamour or the glory, but the fact that she seems to be having a blast, in a way Laura Bush and the rest never did. After working hard for 20 years, she gets to take a sabbatical, spend as much time as she wants with her kids, do as many high-impact public events as she chooses and, when it's all over, have the rest of her life to write the next chapter. "I don't even know what that is yet," she says, but she'll have choices then, as she has now, that most working mothers only dream of.

#### Division of Labor

ASK ANYONE IN THE EAST WING HOW Michelle sees the role of First Lady and you hear a lot about "supporting the President's agenda." But what happens if she

disagrees with her husband about some policy he's embraced? "I'm sure I do what every spouse does," she says, as though their potential disagreements are in any way like any other couple's. "We'll have conversations, and we'll share our opinions over the course of the conversation. But I don't want to have a say. Really, there are a lot of times when I'm like, 'Don't tell me what happened today at work. I just don't want to hear it, because I want the home space to really be free of that.'" Unlike in the Clinton White House, when a member of the First Lady's staff was in nearly every important meeting, Michelle does not send an emissary to key policy debates or the 7:30 a.m. meeting in chief of staff Rahm Emanuel's office. But no one who heard her on the campaign trail can imagine for a minute that she doesn't have strong views on many issues, or that her husband doesn't know what they are.

She has dropped some of the traditional baggage that First Ladies have hauled around for eons, passing up this gala or that benefit for the first time since Bess Truman's day and planting her famous garden to teach a lesson about healthy eating. Like all First Ladies, Michelle will at some point do or say something that gets her in trouble, and it won't just be wearing \$540 sneakers to work in the food bank, the way she did last month.

But in her Technicolor dresses and famously buff bare arms, it's hard not to wonder if Michelle isn't daring us all to just roll with it, to be a little bolder at a time when the country could use all the courage it can muster. "You've got to make choices that make sense for you," she says, "because there's always going to be somebody who'll think you should do something differently." When prodded, she admits with a wry smile that there are moments when she misses her old, anonymous knock-around days. "It's a lot easier to live your life," she says, "when everything you do doesn't have a consequence."

But that path, at least for a while, is blocked, just before our interview, she'd been out on the South Lawn walking Bo when she took a wrong turn. "We happen to walk past the gate where the visitors were coming, and I heard this 'Yaaaaa! It's Bo!' ... Bo is like, 'Who's calling me?'" She's laughing now at the spectacle of a dog who is world-famous, at a house trafficked by thousands of strangers every day, at a life in which every stroll can become a headline. "I was like, Oh, darn, I should have gone around the other way." —WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL AND KAREN TUMULTY/WASHINGTON ■



# How Green Is He?

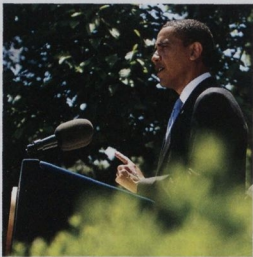
New fuel-efficiency rules are a start, but Obama must take political risks for climate change

AS HE STOOD IN THE ROSE GARDEN ON May 19 with state governors and auto executives to announce a new deal that tightens automobile fuel-efficiency standards, Barack Obama took note of the glorious weather. "The sun is out because good things are happening," he said.

Many environmentalists—who spent the eight years of the Bush Administration in the cold—would agree. Obama announced tough new national standards for automobile emissions and fuel efficiency that essentially settled a long-running battle between environmentalists and the car industry in favor of the greens. Under the proposed rules, which would begin to take effect in 2012, new cars and trucks will need to have an average fuel efficiency of 35.5 m.p.g. (6.6 L/100 km) by 2016—almost 40% cleaner than they are today. The regulations would be the first national limit on U.S. greenhouse-gas emissions and could presage further action to curb climate change. "This is huge," says David Doniger, policy director for the Natural Resources Defense Council's climate center. "This meets and exceeds all our expectations."

Obama assembled all the major players—California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, GM CEO Fritz Henderson, Michigan Representative John Dingell—some of whom are still locked in lawsuits over California's earlier attempts to pass its own stricter fuel-efficiency standards. (Under the Clean Air Act, the state has the right to implement auto-pollution regulations that are tougher than national laws, provided that the Environmental Protection Agency issues a waiver, which was denied under George W. Bush.) For

Obama, the simple fact that these habitually warring parties were willing to come together on the new requirements was as important as the 1.8 billion bbl. of oil and 900 million metric tons of greenhouse gases the rules are expected to save. "In the past, an agreement such as this would have been considered impossible," he said. "What everyone here believes, even as views differ on many important issues, is that the status quo is no longer acceptable."



**The green divide** Obama brokers a deal on gas mileage

That said, it's easier to forge a historic consensus when the obstacle to change—the U.S. auto industry—is now basically a subsidiary of the Federal Government. And though the new regulations are long overdue—even if U.S. cars in 2016 will be only about as efficient as European autos are now—they're just a start. Despite the positive early signs from the White House, some greens still fret about the future and wonder whether Obama's preference for cooperation over confrontation means he will back away from the truly radical action needed to combat climate change.

Take the new efficiency standards. For years, U.S. automakers have fought tougher regulations by arguing that Americans tend to prefer larger, gas-guzzling SUVs and trucks. That's not always true: when

gas prices were at an all-time high last summer, sales of SUVs were down considerably, while hybrids flew off dealer lots. Since then, prices at the pump have dropped—and so has the appetite for small cars. As long as the price of gas remains volatile, it's far from certain that Americans will buy the more efficient cars and trucks the new standards will require automakers to produce. In the long run, though, a gas tax that puts a floor on

fuel prices may be the only way to break America's SUV addiction. But Obama has said he's not interested. "You need a price signal. Regulations alone won't do it," says Lester Lave, director of the Carnegie Mellon Green Design Initiative.

Even more important is the ongoing debate in Congress over carbon cap-and-trade legislation. Democratic Representatives Henry Waxman and Edward Markey have hammered out a bill that would reduce U.S. carbon emissions to 17% below 2005 levels by 2020. It faces an uphill battle in Congress, opposed by nearly all Republicans and many Democrats from coal-dependent states. Pushing it through will require an act of political will, but while Obama has praised the controversial bill, some environmentalists complain the White House has done too little behind the scenes to defend it. "The world was hopeful that Obama would care about global warming, but he has been completely missing in action on this," says Phil Radford, executive director of Greenpeace USA.

Radford is not being entirely fair: Obama has increased alternative-energy funding to record levels and assembled a green team of advisers. They include his Energy Secretary, the Nobel Prize-winning Steven Chu, who told me recently that "the climate-change problem is at least equal in magnitude" to World War II. He's right. And if Obama wants to win this war, he's going to have to fight, not just make peace.

**Obama's preference for cooperation over confrontation may mean he will back away from the truly radical action needed to combat climate change**



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# Seeking Shelter.

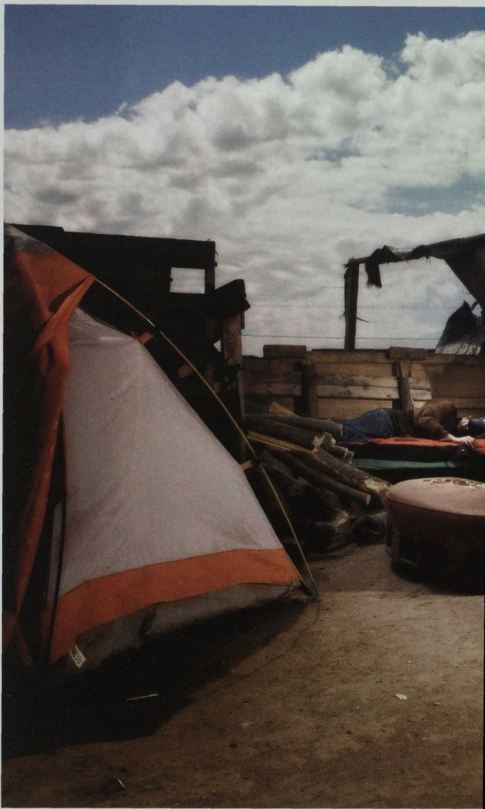
## Some newly homeless Americans are moving into tent cities. This is one of them

**T**ENT CITIES ARE NOT A NEW American phenomenon. Makeshift encampments of people who don't have permanent homes have long existed on the margins of many U.S. cities. But the tide of foreclosures and a rising national unemployment rate have dramatically swelled the ranks of the newly homeless. And one estimate says current economic conditions will drive a million more people into homelessness by 2010. Some will end up in shelters or on the streets. Others are choosing to live in nylon tents on dusty lots, waiting for their fortunes to turn.

Many people living in tent cities like Taco Flats, in Fresno, Calif., collect cans and bottles they trade for cash. For warmth, they burn donated firewood. Not far from a woman openly smoking crack, an elderly woman sweeps the floor of her plywood shanty. For now, the city is picking up residents' trash but says it will relocate the tent dwellers this summer.

Officials elsewhere have reacted in a similar way. After being featured on *Oprah*, Sacramento, Calif., dismantled a tent city in April, moving residents into shelters. But other tent cities remain. For some of the newly homeless, unaccustomed to the strict rules and lack of privacy at shelters, a nylon home is better than no home at all.

—BY KATE PICKERT ■





**Taco Flats**

*For about two years, this tent city has sat on land owned by Union Pacific Railroad. Two similar encampments are nearby*

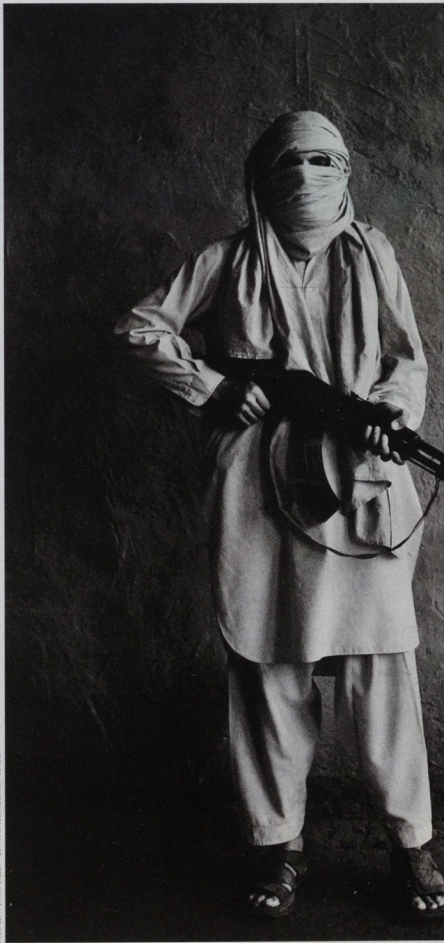


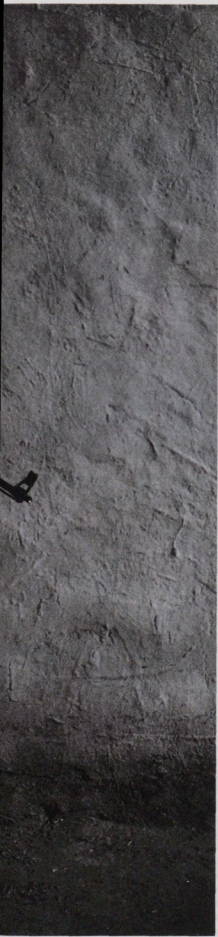
# The CIA's Silent War in Pakistan

In the fight against al-Qaeda, pilotless drones are redefining warfare. But they could be doing more harm than good

BY BOBBY GHOSH AND  
MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON

FROM LEFT: ETHAN MILLER—GETTY; LYNSEY ADEARDO—CORBIS





**T**HE WILDS OF WAZIRISTAN, THE tribal belt along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan, make an unlikely showcase for the future of warfare. This is a land stuck in the past: there are few roads, electricity is scarce, and entire communities of ethnic Pashtun tribesmen live as they have for millennia. And yet it is over this medieval landscape that the U.S. has deployed some of the most sophisticated killing machines ever created, against an enemy that has survived or evaded all other weaponry. If al-Qaeda and the Taliban could not be eliminated by tanks, gunships and missiles, then perhaps they can be stamped out by CIA-operated unmanned drone aircraft, the Predator and the Reaper.

That was the bet President George W. Bush placed during his final months in office, when the CIA greatly increased drone sorties and strikes in Pakistan. The accelerated attacks have been stepped up under President Barack Obama. Nowadays, the low hum of the drones has become a familiar sound in Waziristan, where tribesmen call them *machay*, or red bees. Their lethal sting has been felt in villages and hamlets across the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). The main objectives of the campaign: to take out al-Qaeda's top tier of leadership, including Osama bin Laden, and deny sanctuary in FATA for the Taliban and those fighters who routinely slip across the border to attack U.S. forces in Afghanistan. Combining high-tech video surveillance with the ability to deliver deadly fire, drones allow joystick-wielding operators on the far side of the world—Creach Air Force Base, near Las Vegas—to track moving targets in real time and destroy them. All this, without spilling American blood and for a small fraction of the cost of conventional battle.

But is the drone war winnable? The White House routinely dodges questions on the subject, and neither the CIA nor the State Department would talk about the program on the record. But officials familiar with the CIA's operations say at least nine of the top 20 high-value al-Qaeda targets identified last fall have been killed by drone strikes, along with dozens of lesser figures. Many bases and safe houses have been destroyed. On the other hand, Pakistani officials say the majority of strikes have either missed their targets or, worse, killed innocent civilians. The *News*, a Pakistani daily, reported recently that 60 strikes since early

2006 had killed 687 civilians and only 14 al-Qaeda leaders, a ratio few Pakistanis would find acceptable. The campaign, in fact, may be contributing to a swelling of anti-American sentiment in Pakistan and weakening the fragile government of President Asif Ali Zardari.

Moreover, while the drones may seem a technological marvel and strategic asset to those waging the campaign on the American side, they don't impress the local tribesmen. On the contrary, they feed a perception that the U.S. is a cowardly enemy, too frightened to shed blood in battle. "The militants say that if the Americans want to come and fight, they should fight them face to face," says Mahmood Shah, a retired brigadier who was once the top Pakistani official in FATA. Shah, a Pashtun himself, says the families of the drones' victims are required under the tribal code to seek revenge, which makes them ideal recruits for militant leaders like Baitullah Mehsud, the Pashtun commander of the Pakistani Taliban. Mehsud, says Shah, "likes to boast that each drone attack brings him three or four suicide bombers."

### Cheap and Deadly

THE PREDATOR AND THE REAPER ARE BOTH made by General Atomics, a San Diego defense contractor. The Predator is the older of the two; the first one was delivered to the Air Force in 1994. By the end of the 1990s, the CIA was using it to track bin Laden. Capable of flying for up to 40 hours without refueling, the drone was a "brilliant intelligence tool," recalls Hank Crumpton, then the CIA's top covert operations man in Afghanistan. Although the CIA was keen to weaponize the drone early on, the Air Force resisted the idea until 2000. Even then, firing the weapons was another matter. Crumpton remembers watching someone he is convinced was bin Laden on a video feed from a Predator in late 2000. "The optics were not great, but it was him," Crumpton says. But back then, "there were too many political, legal and military constraints," and the CIA couldn't simply pull the trigger. The equation changed after 9/11. The Predator drew blood for the first time on Nov. 5, 2002, when it destroyed an SUV in Yemen, killing six men, including a top local al-Qaeda leader.

The Predator's firepower is limited, but the Reaper can deliver laser-guided 500-lb. bombs like those commonly found on the F-16 jet, together with Hellfire missiles. And the hardware comes relatively cheap. The Reaper costs \$10 million—chump change compared with manned fighter aircraft; the cutting-edge F-22 Raptor, for instance, costs nearly \$350 million. The drones' relatively low cost is due mainly to the fact that they don't have a pilot—which may also

**Death strikes from above** Al-Qaeda operatives and Taliban fighters like Abu Omar, left, are the target of the CIA's drone campaign

contribute to the Pakistani leadership's tacit acceptance of the CIA campaign. "If we were sending F-16s into FATA—American pilots in Pakistani airspace—they might have felt very differently," says James Currie, a military historian at the U.S.'s National Defense University.

By staring at hours of video footage of houses, vehicles and people, analysts looking at screens in Nevada can detect "patterns of life analyses," or timelines of movements and meetings in any given area. But the drones' utility is dramatically enhanced when analysts know exactly what they're looking for and where. For that, there's nothing better than human intelligence. Reports from Waziristan suggest the CIA has access to a network of spies. Tribesmen have told TIME of agents who drop microchips (locally known as *patrai*) near targets; the drones can lock onto these to guide their missiles or bombs with pinpoint precision. But it has proved difficult to verify these claims of human assets and their homing chips.

The drones are far from infallible,

however. They can survey only small patches of territory at a time, and it would take thousands of them to cover every nook and cranny of Pakistan's long frontier. Several crashes have been reported. Thermal cameras are notoriously imperfect. Even under ideal conditions, images can be blurry. In one of several stills from drone video seen by TIME, it's hard to tell if a group of men is kneeling in prayer or the men are militants in battle formation. "The basic problem with all aerial reconnaissance is that it's subject to error," says George Friedman, who heads the security firm Stratfor. "But in a place like Pakistan, errors have enormous political consequences."

### The Political Cost

THAT THEY DO. CRITICS OF THE DRONES ask if it makes sense for the U.S. to use them when every strike inflames Pakistani public opinion against a pro-U.S. government that is at the point of collapse. "If we wind up killing a whole bunch of al-Qaeda leaders and, at the same time, Pakistan implodes, that's not a victory for us," says David Kilcullen, a counterterrorism expert who played a key role in developing the surge strategy in Iraq. "It's possible the political cost of these attacks exceeds the tactical gains." And yet Pakistani leaders like army Chief of Staff General Ashfaq

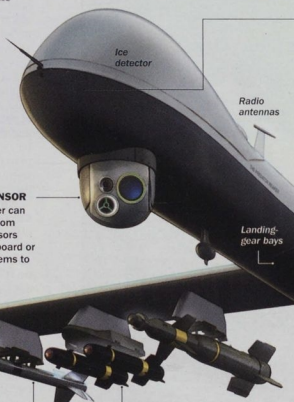
## Reaper: A New Way to Wage War

Unmanned drones have become the most effective weapon in battling Taliban insurgents who have been hiding in Pakistan's lawless regions. The Reaper is a beefed-up Predator, capable of carrying 10 times the weaponry—including 500-lb. bombs—of its smaller cousin

### FEATURES

#### MULTISPECTRAL SENSOR

Imagers on the Reaper can read a license plate from 2 miles high. The sensors are used to assist onboard or remote weapons systems to find their target



#### AIM-9 SIDEWINDER

The short-range heat-seeking missile was named after a type of snake that detects the body heat of its prey

#### HELLFIRE II

Used to penetrate armor and defeat urban targets, it has a relatively small blast that limits possible civilian casualties



▶ FROM THE OPERATOR Signals take **1.2 seconds** to

Kayani seem to have concluded that using drones to kill terrorists in FATA is generally a good thing. This is a major change in direction; although former President Pervez Musharraf allowed drones to operate, he placed severe limits on where and when they could strike. After Musharraf resigned last summer, the shackles came off. The U.S. struck a tacit bargain with the new administration in Islamabad: Zardari and Kayani would quietly enable more drone operations while publicly criticizing the U.S. after each strike. The arrangement has worked well for the U.S., though the Pakistanis would like to tweak it. Visiting Washington last month, Zardari

asked Obama to let Islamabad have direct control of the drones.

Ordinary Pakistanis, though, remain unconvinced that the campaign serves Pakistan's interests. The drones feature in anti-U.S. and anti-Zardari graffiti and cartoons and are the punch line of popular jokes about American impotence or cowardice: Asked why she's ditching her U.S. boyfriend, a Pakistani woman says, "He shoots his missile from 30,000 ft."

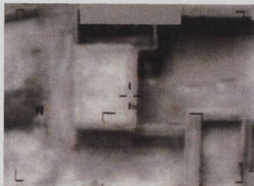
The accusation of cowardice is especially damaging in the tribal areas, where bravery is regarded as an essential quality in an ally. Kilcullen warns that if the U.S. hopes to eventually win over the tribes-

## LYNX RADAR SYSTEM

The Reaper uses radar to produce high-resolution images. It can zoom in on a target or take wide views

## AUTOPILOT

Onboard computers allow the drone to pilot itself, but the craft must be controlled remotely for takeoff and landing



## DESTRUCTIVE POWER

A target in Waziristan before and after being hit



Fuel tanks in fuselage and wings

Turboprop engine

## GBU-12 PAVEWAY II

An operator illuminates a target with a laser designator; the bomb follows the laser beam to the target

## PERFORMANCE

Altitude 5 miles  
Speed 288 m.p.h.  
Endurance 24 hours  
Cost \$10 million



The Reaper is roughly the size of a tennis court



go from Creech Air Force Base near Las Vegas via satellite links to drones **TO PAKISTAN**

men, as it did with Iraqi insurgents, "we can't afford to be seen as people who fight from afar, who don't even dare to put a finger in our planes." The drones seem to be uniting militant groups against the U.S. and the Zardari government. Waziristan warlord Maulvi Nazir signed a nonaggression pact with the Pakistani military in 2007 and sent his fighters to battle Mehsud. But because he continued to mount attacks on U.S. forces in Afghanistan, he became the target of drone strikes. Enraged, he recently buried the hatchet with Mehsud and joined forces with him and a third warlord in a united front against the U.S., Zardari and Afghan

President Hamid Karzai. Mehsud has stepped up his campaign of terrorism on Pakistani soil as well, saying a recent attack on a police-training center in Lahore was a response to the drone attacks.

For all the caveats, the hum of the machay will grow louder in Pakistani skies this summer. The arrival of more U.S. troops in Afghanistan will make it all the more important to deprive al-Qaeda and the Taliban of their safe haven in Pakistan. Obama is widely expected to authorize a broadening of the drone attack to include the southwestern Pakistani province of Baluchistan and its capital, Quetta, where the Taliban

high command is thought to be hiding.

But in the long term, the Pakistani frontier can be safe only when the tribes are more favorably disposed toward the U.S. and the Pakistani government than toward the militants. The U.S. hopes that can be achieved by supplementing the drones with development aid, much of it earmarked for the tribal areas. But can that money start working its magic before the resentments roused by the drone campaign metastasize into an irreversible jihad? On that question of timing may hinge the success or failure of a modern war fought in an ancient environment. —WITH REPORTING BY OMAR WARAICH/ISLAMABAD

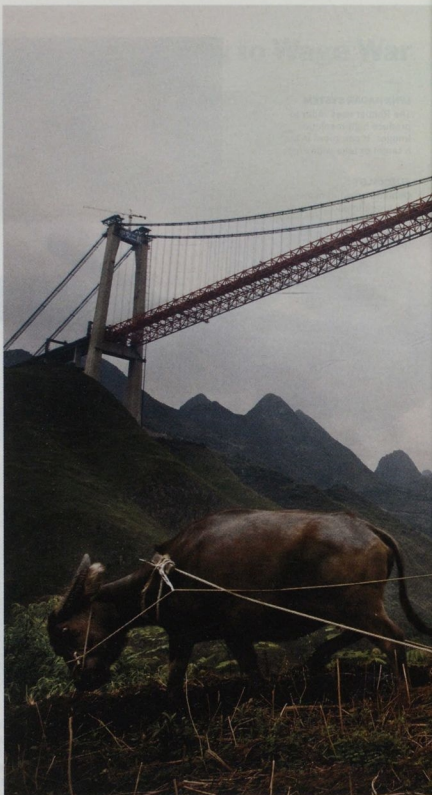
# Rebuilding The Middle Kingdom.

## To cushion itself against recession, China is investing in one of the most ambitious public-works programs ever seen

BY SIMON ELEGANT/BEIJING  
AND AUSTIN RAMZY/GUANLING

**G**UIZHOU PROVINCE, IN SOUTHWESTERN China, is a place of striking natural beauty: jagged peaks surrounded by fields of bright green rape, ridges slashed with limestone outcrops and plunging waterfalls. But these days the region's grandest sight is man-made: the Baling River Bridge. Due to be completed early next year, this 1.4-mile (2.25 km) marvel of engineering is a jarringly conspicuous splash of 21st century technology amid Guizhou's farms and rice fields, which haven't changed much in thousands of years. It's as if the Golden Gate Bridge had been dropped into some bucolic Middle-earth mountainscape.

Out of place as it may appear, this is no bridge to nowhere. Soaring a quarter-mile (400 m) above the Baling River, the \$216 million span will reduce travel time considerably for the stream of trucks and cars traversing a highway that connects the provincial capital, Guiyang, with the



**A splash of the 21st century** Farmer Wei Xinyuan plows his field in the shadow of the Baling River Bridge in Guizhou province





**The Great Rebuild**  
See more photos of  
China's infrastructure  
push at [time.com/  
china\\_rebuilds](http://time.com/china_rebuilds)

nearest big city, Kunming, the capital of neighboring Yunnan province. Far from resenting the bridge as a white elephant, the residents of nearby Guanling, a one-stoplight town where the average income is less than \$150 a year, view it as crucial to economic development and improvement in their lives. "I really cannot wait for the bridge to be completed," says Yuan Bo, 25, a graphic designer who takes a two-hour bus ride every week from his home in Anshun to help in his family's Guanling restaurant.

What's good for Yuan Bo and Guanling is good for China. While the recession-racked West debates the wisdom of borrowing billions of dollars and spending it on economic stimulus, China is reaching into its vast financial reserves to launch one of the most ambitious and expensive public-works programs ever undertaken. The Baling River Bridge is only one of hundreds of infrastructure projects—ports, airports, bridges, schools, hospitals, highways, railroads—on which China plans to spend about \$450 billion over the next several years. Announced in November, this pumped-up New Deal is aimed at more than cushioning China's economic fall as the global recession bites deeply into the country's manufacturing and export sectors. The new projects will make it much easier for commerce and people to move around China, hence stimulating domestic demand and reducing China's economic reliance on exports, vital as rich world consumers rebuild their balance sheets and international trade contracts.

China's leaders are using the financial crisis as an opportunity to consolidate gains already made in the country's global competitiveness while laying a foundation for even greater progress in the future—and for the international power that economic prowess can bring. Nationalist voices in the media are already framing the crisis as a transformational moment in China's rise and the decline of the U.S. "They've criticized the dollar and asked for a new global reserve currency. They've criticized the U.S. role in the International Monetary Fund," says Beijing-based China scholar Russell Leigh Moses. Premier Wen Jiabao recently pleaded with Washington to safeguard China's investment in U.S. bonds, which will decline in value if the dollar weakens on foreign-exchange markets. That too, says Moses, was a reminder to the U.S. that "you aren't in the driver's seat anymore and maybe you should move over."

For an economy like China's, which is the world's third largest but is still

# 16%

Percentage, coming to \$586 billion, that will be spent under the stimulus package

# 75%

Percentage of the total spending that will be devoted to infrastructure projects—ports, airports, schools, highways, railroads, hospitals—which will create thousands of jobs

**Bringing development to the provinces** A construction worker walks through a tunnel leading to the Baling River Bridge



just a third the size of the U.S.'s, the scale of the package is staggering. Total new spending is pegged at \$586 billion, about 16% of GDP. In contrast, the \$787 billion stimulus package approved by the U.S. Congress in February is just 6% of GDP. While upwards of 75% of Chinese spending will go toward infrastructure, just 10% of U.S. spending will. The difference to an extent reflects the fact that the nations are at different stages of economic development: America's railroad networks were built in the 19th century (and show it), and its interstate-highway system was mainly constructed in the 1950s and '60s. But it also speaks to the sheer scale of China's ambition to modernize itself.

Inevitably, some critics complain that

Beijing has released few details of where the money will go and that some of the funding is not new: the package, for example, includes \$147 billion for reconstruction in areas of Sichuan province that were devastated by a 2008 earthquake, money that would have been spent in any event. But wherever you go in China now, you come across projects that boggle the mind. In late March, for example, the government began soliciting bids for the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macau highway, a bridge-and-tunnel complex 16.5 miles (26.6 km) long that will allow connections among 35 ports in the Pearl River Delta, the cradle of China's economic boom. When completed in 2015, the \$10 billion project will cut driving time from Hong Kong to the



industrial area of Zhuhai from about four hours to just 30 minutes.

#### Looking to the West

ARE SUCH HUGE PROJECTS REALLY NECESSARY? China, with its gleaming coastal cities and modern transport hubs, is already the envy of developing countries like India. And from Alaska to Japan, there are plenty of examples around the world of infrastructure projects that owed more to local politicking than to real economic need. Most of China's stimulus spending, critics note, will be supervised by local governments. This will undoubtedly mean that some money will end up lining the pockets of corrupt bureaucrats.

Yet there are early signs that the massive influx of government spending is al-

### **'They've criticized the dollar and asked for a new global reserve currency. They've criticized the U.S. role in the IMF.'**

—RUSSELL LEIGH MOSES, BEIJING-BASED CHINA SCHOLAR, ON THE LEADERSHIP'S NEW ASSERTIVENESS

ready accomplishing its main goal: easing China's economic slowdown, which has been headlined by double-digit declines in exports, thousands of factory closures and the layoff of about 20 million workers. Economic statistics for the first quarter of 2009 were surprisingly positive, leading some economists to conclude that the rate of contraction was slowing and that China might be on the road to recovery. Power-generation and transportation statistics, key indicators of the economy's direction, registered modest increases in March after months of decline. Banks lent money at record levels, investment showed signs of recovery, and auto sales grew nearly 3.9% in the first quarter compared with the same period last year, thanks to subsidies for new-car buyers and lower sales taxes. The results led Wen to conclude that "Chinese government policy has been timely, correct and decisive."

China, of course, has certain advantages when it comes to managing shifting economic winds. There's no peskily powerful Congress to worry about, for one thing; what the Chinese government wants in the way of policy, it gets. Christopher Wood, chief Asia strategist for the brokerage and investment firm CLSA, says the fact that China's economy is a hybrid of capitalism and a socialist command economy has given the government much greater flexibility to intervene. Beijing more or less ordered Chinese banks to increase lending in response to the global financial meltdown. Wood, a former journalist well known for predicting the bursting of Japan's bubble 20 years ago, says he expects the beneficial effects of China's stimulus spending to continue for three to six months. While other Asian economies are expected to suffer sharp contractions in 2009, CLSA is predicting that China will hit its government set GDP growth target of 8% this year, following a drop in the first quarter to 6.1%, the slowest annual growth rate since at least 1992.

But for any recovery to last beyond the end of the year, China's crucial manufacturing and export sector must revive. Otherwise, Wood says, stimulus spending could result in a "skewed outcome": billions of dollars in loans made to artificially boost growth could start to go bad, dragging down China's banks; at the same time, the country would remain saddled with a glut of factories producing a vast surplus of goods no one wants to buy.

While the stimulus package has risks, it also affords China a chance to rebalance the country's growing wealth. One by-product of China's prolonged expansion is that coastal regions—marked by boomtowns such as Shanghai, Guangzhou, Xiamen

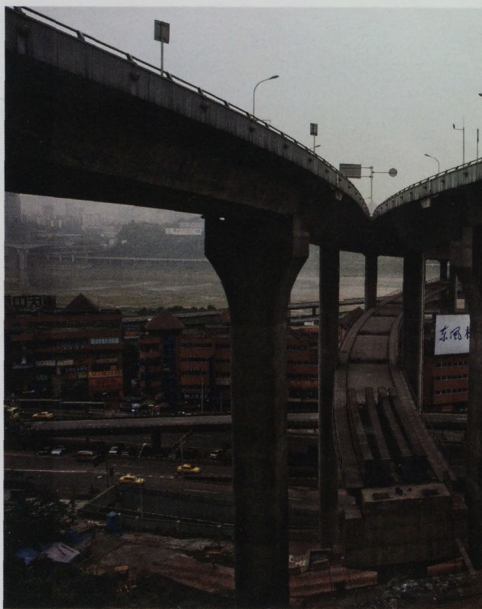
and Tianjin as well as their hinterlands—have grown much faster than the country's interior provinces, which have always been poorer. For years the central government has tried various policies to lift western China, without much result. The infrastructure push gives Beijing another chance to address divisive and potentially explosive wealth gaps that have grown between east and west, rich and poor.

### City on a Hill

THESE DIVISIONS, AND THE GOVERNMENT'S push to reduce them, are evident in the southwestern megalopolis of Chongqing. Built on the hilly banks of the Yangtze River, this ancient trading center was the effective capital of China during World War II and today is one of the world's largest municipalities, with a population of 31 million. The brightly lit buildings along the Chongqing riverfront display a cosmopolitan sophistication. But that impression quickly fades as you leave the city for the corrugated hills outside. "In Chongqing, the transportation system and so on are quite developed," says Shen Xiaozhong, deputy director of the city's office of the National Reform and Development Commission. "But go out 30 km from the city—not that far—and the conditions are still pretty poor." Truth to tell, they're bad enough in parts of the city itself, where legions of "stick stick" men line the sidewalks hoping to earn a few dollars carrying goods up the town's steep hillsides, reminding all who see them of China's lingering poverty.

Shen says government infrastructure projects have already created 20,000 jobs in Chongqing this year, mostly in construction. He outlines development plans that could pass for a battle strategy, with lines of attack—in this case, faster rail lines—spreading from Chongqing across the country. In response to the economic crisis, Beijing accelerated its schedule for improving the country's rail networks by five years. As a result, travel time for a train journey from Chongqing to Beijing is expected to fall from 25 hours to seven by 2015. That's just the start. Another runway will be added to Chongqing's airport, the electrical grid will be upgraded, \$5.8 billion will be spent on improving public water supplies, and wastewater treatment will be expanded to cover 90% of urban sewage, up from about 70% now.

In Chongqing, signs of public works programs are everywhere. A walk through the extensive stairways and underground markets that make up the city's downtown is interrupted by detours and periodic detonations, the result of work on



### 'We still need at least 20 years to develop infrastructure to catch up with developed countries.'

—SHEN XIAOZHONG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, CHONGQING OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

a new light-rail system scheduled to be completed by 2011. "We still need at least 20 years to develop infrastructure to catch up with developed countries," says Shen. "For China, the infrastructure projects are not only temporary measures to get the country out of the downturn but an opportunity to prepare for the economy to take off in the future."

China is using the stimulus package to play catch-up on another front: the environment. Three decades of rapid, unchecked economic growth has turned many of the country's rivers into cesspools and lands into wastelands and much of its air into grimy soup. Some \$30.9 billion has been officially allocated under the stimulus plan for "environmental projects" to help clean up the mess and put the country on

**8%**

China's GDP growth  
target for '09

**3%**

Congressional  
Budget Office's  
projection of U.S.  
GDP contraction  
for '09

**Pouring the  
concrete** *Chongqing,*  
*China's effective*  
*capital during*  
*World War II, is*  
*being rebuilt*

a path to more sustainable development. The government of Jiangsu province, for example, recently announced a \$16 billion plan to clean up Lake Tai, once famed for its beauty and abundant fish but now better known for the choking algae blooms caused by industrial runoff that has made the water undrinkable for the millions who depend on it. "We are not taking environmental protection as a second priority," Jiangsu Governor Luo Zhijun recently told local reporters. "For us, it is just as important as economic development."

#### **Mountain High, Emperor Far Away**

NO MATTER HOW WELL INTENTIONED, China's stimulus package may provide little more than a short-lived growth blip if officials are unable to control the

perennial bugbear of Chinese economic development: pervasive corruption in local and provincial governments, which make their own way far from the brilliant technocrats in Beijing.

Take the case of a project already under construction in Yan'an, the end point of the Long March, a place steeped in symbolism for Chinese people. A few steps from a memorial to Zhang Side—a soldier who, after being killed while hauling charcoal in 1944, was picked by Mao Zedong to serve as an example of selfless communism—is the entry to a tunnel. Someday it will be part of a highway that leads west from Yan'an. The key word is *someday*. The Shazuimao tunnel, which faces a mountain that bears giant characters in Mao's calligraphy reading

SERVE THE PEOPLE, has been delayed four times by workers protesting over unpaid wages. The city's transportation department and the local Communist Party discipline office are investigating allegations that the company originally hired to dig the tunnel subcontracted the work to an unqualified firm while pocketing a portion of the funding. "There's always money and corruption involved," grumbles a farmer named Wang who lives nearby. Authorities haven't completed their investigations, but there's no denying the delays. A banner at the mouth of the tunnel announces a completion date of October 2008. "This project has been a disaster for us," says Wang. "We would be lucky to have it done by this October."

Graft was rife in construction projects long before the current downturn. "Public spending is already subject to considerable siphoning off and, perhaps even more critically, waste," says Andrew Wedeman, a political scientist and Chinese-corruption expert at the University of Nebraska. During the boom years, such waste mattered less because growth was so robust. But if China's GDP expands only 6% to 8% this year, as some predict, corruption could dampen recovery. "What really matters is not if funds will be siphoned off or how much will be siphoned off," Wedeman says, "but rather whether the siphoning will have a clear and negative impact on the central government's efforts to restimulate the economy."

But notwithstanding the amounts that will disappear into bank accounts in Hong Kong, casinos in Macau and the gaudy houses that stud the outskirts of every Chinese city, China stands to gain more than it loses through its building campaign. The scale of its needs remains immense: the country's leaders are, after all, attempting to move more people out of dire poverty and into something like comfort in a shorter time than has ever been seen before in human history.

And so the work goes on. At the base of a \$527 million bridge being built across the Yangtze River in Chongqing, dozens of dump trucks and backhoes rumble amid boulders and mud to prepare an access road to the span, scheduled to be completed this month. "It's good not having to worry about finding work and getting paid," says a laborer named Yang, who is helping construct the Chongqing Grand Theater, a magnificent music and opera house being built on a river headland within sight of the Chaotianmen bridge. "There are so many public projects going on, there will always be a place for me." —WITH

REPORTING BY LIN YANG/GUANLING ■



## Extra Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to [time.com/curiouscapitalist](http://time.com/curiouscapitalist)



# Excluding the Extremist

Peter Schiff predicted the credit collapse long before the "experts." So why is it so hard to hear him now?

PETER SCHIFF IS LOUD—A DECIBEL OR 12 above everybody else. And it's hard to get him to stop talking. Ask the man a simple question and you get a 10-minute harangue in response. This harangue is likely to feature libertarian political opinions that are by Schiff's own admission pretty extreme—inherited as they were from a father currently in prison (at age 90) for refusing to pay income tax.

Yet Schiff, 46, is not just some opinionated boor. He possesses a self-awareness that renders him a bit less obnoxious than I've described, and he happens to have done a better job than just about anyone else of forecasting in 2006 and early 2007 what was about to happen in U.S. financial markets. This wasn't a broken-clock-is-right-twice-a-day thing: Schiff appeared on the national scene just as the credit bubble was reaching maximum inflation and offered a critique of the nation's unsustainably debt-fueled economic trajectory that is now—after the fact—widely accepted.

As markets collapsed late last year, Schiff, who runs the Connecticut-based brokerage firm Euro Pacific Capital, briefly got to bask in the glory of his spectacular call. He ran a victory lap of sorts on the cable news networks. A fan put together a 10-minute YouTube clip of his precrash predictions on CNBC and Fox News—complete with smirking and dead-wrong rebuttals from the likes of Arthur Laffer and Ben Stein—that has been watched more than 1.3 million times. ("What makes that clip so good is not so much me as everybody else," Schiff says. "People like laughing at people.")

**A fan put together a 10-minute YouTube clip of Schiff's precrash predictions on CNBC and Fox News that has been watched more than 1.3 million times**

This year, though, Schiff's TV bookings are down 75% to 85%, says his younger brother Andrew, who handles p.r. for him. About the only things written about him lately have been negative—the result of financial blogger Michael (Mish) Shedlock's pointing out that Schiff's investment recommendations were money losers in 2008. How could a bear have managed to lose money last year? Schiff was blindsided when



global investors piled into dollars and U.S. government bonds during last fall's panic. But that rush to safety has already abated, and over longer periods, Schiff's decade-old strategy of steering clients out of U.S. securities and into commodities and overseas stocks has been a big winner. His investment record surely can't be the reason for his fall from media grace.

No, the main issue with Schiff seems to be that he hasn't changed his tune—and it isn't a pleasant tune to listen to. He thinks the "phony economy" of the U.S. is headed for even harder times. He believes that the crisis-fighting measures coming out of Washington are merely delaying the inevitable, debasing the dollar and loading future taxpayers with huge debts.

There is still demand for this kind of market-trashing talk. Schiff's 2007 book, *Crash Proof: How to Profit from the Com-*

*ing Economic Collapse*, is selling well on Amazon.com. His many YouTube videos keep attracting new viewers. He says he's getting more speaking requests than he can possibly satisfy, many from overseas. Euro Pacific still garners new clients. But with a few exceptions—Larry Kudlow brings Schiff onto his CNBC show occasionally, Liz Claman does the same on Fox Business Network, and I'm writing a column about him—he's no longer invited

to mainstream discussions of the economy and economic policy.

Of course, Schiff isn't mainstream. His father Irwin decided in the 1970s that the federal income tax was unconstitutional and has spent the years since shuttling between courtrooms and prisons. Schiff's parents divorced when he was 5, and he was raised by his mother. But it was his father who got him reading libertarian icons Ayn Rand, Ludwig von Mises and Murray Rothbard. And taxpaying Peter is wistful about failing to follow fully in Dad's footsteps. "I'm taking the easy way out," he says.

I happen to disagree with most of Schiff's economic views. But

there's a thriving line of academic research showing that including divergent opinions and models of how the world works makes groups better at solving problems. Our society failed spectacularly this decade at solving the problem of how to price houses and mortgage bonds. It would have done better if people had paid more attention to skeptical voices like Schiff's. "The fact that he was right this time doesn't mean he's going to be right the next time, but somebody will be," says University of Michigan social scientist Scott Page. "All models are wrong, and that's why you want a diversity of models." Seconds Schiff: "You're never going to get these correct calls coming from the mainstream. It's not even possible." Schiff's current predictions may well turn out to be all wrong. But that's no reason not to listen to them. ■



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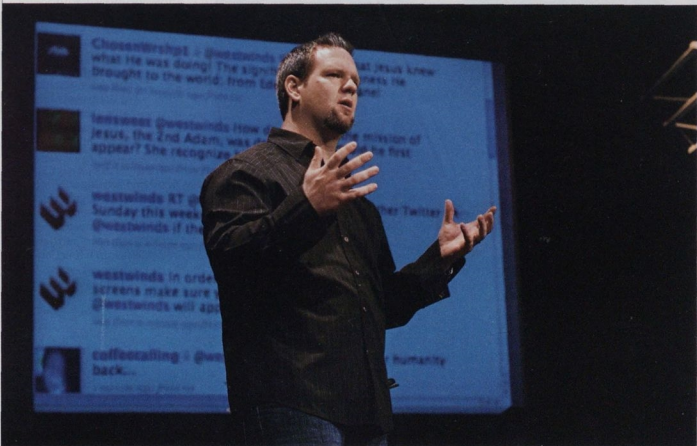
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# Life

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## RELIGION

### Twittering in Church.

 Why some pastors are turning to microblogging to bring congregants closer to God and one another

BY BONNIE ROCHMAN

JOHN VOELZ ISN'T TRYING to brag, but it's fair to say he was down with Twitter before most people knew it was a proper noun. Last year the 41-year-old pastor was tweeting at a conference outside Nashville about ways to make the church experience more creative—ways,

as Voelz put it, to “make it not suck”—when suddenly he hit on the solution: Twitter.

He and David McDonald, the other senior pastor at Westwinds Community Church in Jackson, Mich., spent two weeks teaching their congregation how to use the microblogging site, which challenges users to be

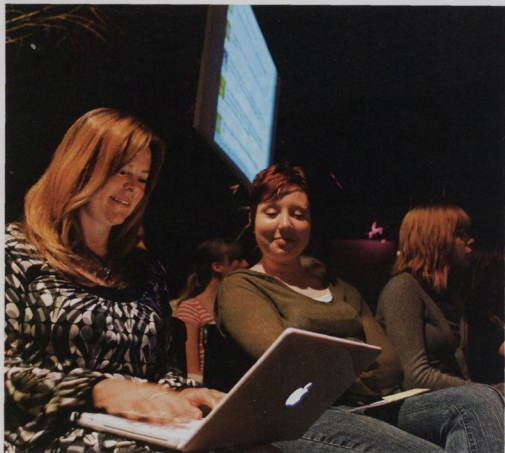
profound in 140 characters or less. They upped the bandwidth in the auditorium and urged everyone to bring his or her laptop, iPhone or BlackBerry to the training sessions.

As expected, there was plenty of blather flashing across the video screens, à la “Nice shirt [Vo.]” But there was heartfelt stuff too. “I have a

hard time recognizing God in the middle of everything.” “The more I press in to Him, the more He presses me out to be useful.” “Sometimes healing is painful.”

There's a time and place for

**Mid-sermon banter** Pastor David McDonald encourages tweeting at his church in Jackson, Mich.



## Excerpt from a Sunday sermon Twitter feed

**bigbyjackson @westwinds**  
today is the day you made and I will rejoice in that and not worry about tomorrow.

11:38 a.m. May 10, from Tweetie

**coffecalling @westwinds**  
band is rockin' it!

11:36 a.m. May 10, from txt

**ChosenWrshp1 @westwinds**  
I think healing would require us to recognize that we're not perfect ourselves ... And that others are not perfect either ...

11:36 a.m. May 10, from txt

**CherryCreekWine @westwinds**  
It is easy to be close to the Lord when things are going poorly, it take[s] commitment to follow when things are going well.

11:35 a.m. May 10, from PocketTuit

technology, and most houses of worship say it's not at morning Mass. However, a small but growing number of churches around the country are following Voelz's lead and encouraging worshippers to integrate text messaging into their relationship with God.

In Seattle, Mars Hill churchgoers regularly tweet throughout the service. In New York City, Trinity Wall Street Church marked Good Friday by tweeting the Passion play, detailing the stages of Jesus' crucifixion in short bursts. At Next Level Church, outside Charlotte, N.C., pastor Todd Hahn prefaced his Easter Sunday sermon by saying, "I hope many of you are tweeting this morning about your experience with God." Why tempt people with short attention spans with such distractions? Because Twitter is hot and because it can help keep wandering minds thinking about spirituality. "It's a huge responsibility of a church to

leverage whatever's going on in the broader culture to connect people to God and to each other," Hahn says.

The trend has its critics, including some young parishioners. At first, Katrina Cordova, 22, a Westwinds member who is studying to be a teacher, thought Twittering in church seemed "kind of dumb," and she still finds it distracting, if not impossible, to text and pray simultaneously. But Twitter's haiku-like banter has led her to meet lots of people in the 900-member congregation. "Feeling like I really belong to a church helps me in my relationship with God," she says.

If worship is about creating community, Twitter is

**Why tempt short attention spans with such distractions? Because Twitter is hot**

**Mixed reactions** Some members of Michigan's Westwinds Community Church find Twitter useful, others "kind of dumb."

an undeniably useful tool. At Westwinds, people can ask questions about the sermon that the pastors will answer later or that another congregant may offer insights about in real time. Some use Twitter to take notes, rather than scribbling on programs that are easily misplaced. Often tweets are pastor-directed, with McDonald preaching while Voelz taps out, "In what way do you feel the spirit of God moving within you?" Discuss.

Since last June, there have been at least a dozen "Twitter Sundays" at Westwinds, but its 150 or so Twitterers are free to tweet at any time, at any service, whenever the spirit moves them.

The same rules apply at Next Level, where pastor Hahn headed straight to his office to log on as soon as the first Twitterfest ended in April. Punching in "nextlevel" in Twitter's search function, he scrolled through such comments as "nothing u do 4 the lord is in vain" and "I think my thumbs are going to be sore."

Next Level has no plans to make Twitter a formal part of each week's service, but Hahn has told parishioners that "if God leads you to continue this as a form of worship, by all means do it." Robbie McLaughlin took him up on it. The 23-year-old graphic designer Twittered the Sunday after Easter and intends to do it again. He says it helps him to see other people's spiritual experiences during the service.

Though Twittering congregations are still a quirky minority, Voelz says he gets at least five e-mails a week from strangers inquiring how to launch Twitter in their churches. How did you rig the screen resolution so people could read the tweets? How did members react? And, not surprisingly: Got any tips to persuade church leadership this is way cool? ■

## SOCIAL NORMS

# Why Your Memory May Not Be So Bad After All. New data on how internalizing stereotypes affects boomers

BY JOHN CLOUD

AS EXPLICIT DISCRIMINATION has receded in recent decades, those who study prejudice have had to grapple with a difficult question: Why do some minority groups continue to perform worse than others on academic tests as well as in social measures like income and job status? Has bias merely become better hidden, or are other forces at work?

One theory that has emerged from psychology departments in the past few years is that members of stigmatized groups lag behind others partly because

college jocks are susceptible. A new study published in the journal *Experimental Aging Research* shows that older people can also become victims of their own low expectations. Psychologists at North Carolina State University, in Raleigh, recruited 103 people ages 60 to 82 to perform recall tests. Researchers told about half the participants that the purpose of the tests was "to examine the effect aging has on memory." The others were

persuasively, that baby boomers are more sensitive about losing their sharpness than those more accustomed to the vicissitudes of advancing age.

What can we do about stereotype threat? Research has found that positive stereotype reinforcement is as powerful as the negative variety. In a recent study in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Indiana University psychologists found that even after the "women are bad at math" canard is introduced, women's performance on math tests doesn't suffer as long as a compensating positive (and also specious) stereotype—"college students are good



**Interestingly, people ages 60 to 70 were far more vulnerable to stereotype threat than those 71 to 82**

told the tests had been written to correct for age-related bias. Those in the first group performed significantly worse than those whose internalized stereotypes hadn't been triggered. Interestingly, participants ages 60 to 70 were significantly more vulnerable to stereotype threat than those 71 to 82.

The authors theorize,

at math"—is present at the same time.

The most practical solution to stereotype threat is an early intervention: stop asking students for demographic information right before they take important standardized tests. Baruch College psychologist Catherine Good, who helps run reducingstereotype threat.org, says many states collect race and gender data just before kids start filling in ovals. "Move those questions to the end," she advises, and stereotypes won't be a threat in the first place.

they have internalized the stereotypes. Some minorities, the theory goes, do worse in academic and other settings merely because they expect to do worse. Their negative expectations produce stress and interfere with cognition.

Since 1995, when Stanford psychologist Claude Steele (brother of Shelby) and his student Joshua Aronson started referring to this phenomenon as "stereotype threat," dozens of studies have confirmed that African Americans, girls and even

BEFORE



AFTER



Infinitink tattoo

Traditional ink tattoo

## TECHNOLOGY

# Too Fickle For a Tattoo? Easier-to-remove ink is now available

Tattoo remorse is alive and well. Studies indicate that among Americans who get inked, about 1 in 6 regrets the choice and that women are twice as likely as men to have their tattoos removed—a long and painful process, often requiring a dozen laser sessions that can cost more than \$200 a pop.

Hence all the excitement back in 2006 when a team led by a Harvard dermatology professor announced it had created permanent tattoo ink that could be removed with one laser treatment. The so-called Infinitink (pronounced infinite ink) was encapsulated in tiny plastic beads to speed the disintegration of pigment when struck by a laser. Sure enough, the process worked, but consulting tattoo artists like Brandon Bond—whose designs adorn the flesh of rapper 50 Cent and boxer Floyd Mayweather Jr.—didn't like how the ink looked. So the company revised its formula using technology similar to that found in ink-jet printers.

The new version takes a couple more laser sessions to remove than the original did. But if it catches on, people like Josh McKenzie, 23, of Portland, Ore., will no longer have to spend upwards of \$650 to remove a \$35 tattoo. Why does he want his gone? He thought he'd picked out the Chinese character for bold, but it turned out to be rotten.

—BY ANITA HAMILTON



The Wounds of War are  
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# How to Save More Of:

## Your Dough

By Lidia Bastianich



**A**S CONSUMERS CUT back on spending, the famed chef and author of *Lidia's Italy* zeroes in on one way to stretch your food dollar:

"Americans waste a lot of food. For example, we all love bread, but we all have bread left over, and we ultimately throw it out. So let's recycle it, and make it into a great new meal.

"I come from a very basic family. I grew up in Italy, where my grandmother lived not too far from us. She had all the animals that were necessary to feed an extended family—chickens, geese, pigeons, rabbits, goats. Plus, she had a garden. Nothing got thrown away! Even if we peeled potatoes or cucumbers, the scraps went into a bucket to feed the pigs and the chickens. So it was a complete 360 degrees. For a chef or someone who loves food, there is no better feeling." —AS TOLD TO ANDREA SACHS



### Save More Daily Bread

To see Bastianich in action and get some recipes, go to [time.com/bread](http://time.com/bread)



### 1 | Panzanella

#### WASTE NOT

Use a serrated knife to cut bread that is a few days old into half-inch cubes. "Don't worry if the bread is hard," says Bastianich



#### FORGET THE LETTUCE

Stick with a few seasonal vegetables (or gussy up with grilled chicken or shrimp). Add olive oil and red-wine vinegar



#### GET ALL DRESSED UP

After tossing, let stand for 10 minutes. By then, Bastianich says, "the bread will be juicy and delicious." Garnish with basil



### 2 | Parfait

#### AMP UP THE CAFFEINE

Soak slices of old bread in leftover coffee or espresso ("Make it intense," Bastianich says). Add rum for extra kick



#### SWEETEN THE HEAT

"Use all those little pieces of chocolate you have around," she says, and melt them in a double boiler to avoid overheating



#### ASSEMBLY REQUIRED

Layer the bread, chocolate, whipped cream and any type of nuts. "It's easy," Bastianich says, and a good last-minute dish



### 3 | Storage

#### SKIP THE PLASTIC

To avoid mold, don't put bread in a plastic bag (except in the freezer). A dry windowsill is fine



### 4 | French Toast

#### SPICE IT UP

In addition to using cinnamon, tweak a classic by adding lemon or orange zest or shredded apple



### 5 | Bread Crumbs

#### NO NEED TO BUY 'EM

Wait until any type of bread is "bone dry," Bastianich says, chop it in a food processor and freeze



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## The greater Naples area is uniquely exposed to a trio of natural disasters

JEFF ISRAELY ON NAPLES' EMERGENCY-RESPONSE PLAN



TIPS FROM THE EXPERTS:

# Health

"Anytime you travel, you've got to adjust or you're a diet and exercise victim before you ever leave home," says **Peter Greenberg**, the nation's preeminent travel expert and author of **The Traveler's Diet: Eating Right and Staying Fit on the Road and Tough Times, Great Travels**. Here are his top travel tips:

**Eat Well on the Road.** Whether you're traveling by train, plane or automobile, bring along a brown bag of healthy snacks — nutrition bars, nuts, apples, and baby carrots — to control what you're putting in your body. Some hotels offer rooms with full kitchens and grocery delivery service to help the extended-stay traveler stay on routine.

**Drink Water on the Go.** Americans are chronically dehydrated, which can slow our metabolism. How much water is right for you? It's easy...just take your weight, divide in half, and drink that many in ounces; if you weigh 180 pounds, for example, you'll need to drink nine 10 oz. bottles a day. It will mean many more trips to the bathroom (book an aisle seat) but it will boost your metabolism and curb your urges to snack at weird hours.

**Turn Your Hotel Room into a Gym.** Fortunately, many hotels are upping the ante on their workout amenities these days with outdoor sports courts and on-site gyms. But there are also plenty of exercises you can do in your hotel room — from sit-ups and push-ups to yoga and Tai Chi. There are even cardio classes online. Also, you can maximize any workout with inflatable weights made of heavy-duty vinyl that are easy to pack, and weigh next to nothing until you fill them with water.

**Adjust to Time Zones.** It takes one day for your body to adjust to every time zone you cross. To counteract jet lag, start by setting your watch to the time zone of your destination as soon as you board the plane. No matter what time you arrive, stay up at least until 11 p.m., local time. Finally, before you go to bed, open the drapes in your room so you'll be flooded with sunlight when you awake. By the second night, your body will be back to normal.



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# ess



quarter of 2009, China became the world's largest car market, overtaking the U.S. for the first time.

In this relatively hot climate, GM is neck and neck with Volkswagen for the market-share lead, 10 years after the first GM cars started rolling off Chinese assembly lines. In April, GM set a record for monthly sales: 151,084 vehicles, a stunning 50% increase over its April 2008 results. GM remains "solidly profitable" in the country, says Nick Reilly, president of GM Asia-Pacific. (GM does not disclose China revenue and profit figures.) While GM plans to slash its U.S. workforce 38%—23,000 jobs—by 2011, it's hiring in China and expects to open a new factory there within the next few years. The work rules

**Better half** A cross-sectioned new Buick on display at the Shanghai auto show on April 20. Buick is GM's best-selling brand in China



## Top Farmers' Markets

The best places to find fresh, flavorful and often organic fruits and vegetables while on the road are farmers' markets. Many also offer home-baked goods, cooking classes and live music and entertainment. Here are some of the top farmers' markets around the country and a few of their standout products or amenities.

### ATLANTA

Green Market at Piedmont Park  
[piedmontpark.org](http://piedmontpark.org)  
 Fresh herbs and honey, but also gourmet foods and health and beauty products.

### BOSTON

Faneuil Hall/Quincy Market  
[faneuilhallmarketplace.com](http://faneuilhallmarketplace.com)  
 Food carts, kiosks, street performers, and crowds of locals and tourists.

### CHICAGO

Green City Market  
[chicagoregreencitymarket.org](http://chicagoregreencitymarket.org)  
 Organic products from 50 regional farmers, plus fresh crepes made to order.

### DENVER

City Park Esplanade Fresh Market  
[coloradofreshmarkets.com/markets.html](http://coloradofreshmarkets.com/markets.html)  
 A wide variety of fruits and veggies but also meats, eggs, apples and honey.

### HOUSTON

Downtown Green Market  
[centralcityco-op.org](http://centralcityco-op.org)  
 Handmade gelato, local sweets and organic items including dog treats.

### LOS ANGELES

Farmers Market  
[farmersmarketla.com](http://farmersmarketla.com)  
 Food stands, grocery stores and restaurants set in a popular gathering place.

### NEW YORK CITY

Greenmarket Farmers' Market  
[cenyc.org/greenmarket](http://cenyc.org/greenmarket)  
 Delicious whole-grained bakery products from upstate, and fresh cheeses from Amish farms.

### PHILADELPHIA

Reading Terminal Market  
[readingterminalmarket.org](http://readingterminalmarket.org)  
 Amish specialties, fresh meats, ethnic and baked goods, and handmade crafts.

### SEATTLE

Pike Place Fish Market  
[pikeplacefish.com](http://pikeplacefish.com)  
 A variety of fresh salmon and Dungeness crab, fish-tossing fishmongers and free recipes.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dupont Circle Fresh Farm Market  
[washingtondc.com/farmers-markets](http://washingtondc.com/farmers-markets)  
 Fresh poultry, fish, fruit pies, breads, fresh pasta, soaps and herbal products.

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The greater Naples area  
is uniquely exposed to a trio  
of natural disasters

JEFF ISRAELY ON NAPLES' EMERGENCY-RESPONSE PLAN

# Global Business

MANUFACTURING MEGACITIES



## MANUFACTURING The Other GM.

The Detroit giant is trying to stave off bankruptcy in the U.S.—good thing business is booming in China

BY BILL POWELL/SHANGHAI

GENERAL MOTORS MAY WELL BE AT the lowest moment in its history, with bankruptcy looming, but you would never know that in China. This country is GM's alternative universe—a place where business couldn't be much better. Global sales for the auto industry are forecast to fall nearly 9%, to 56 million light vehicles this year, according to market-research firm CSM Worldwide. But in China, where consumers are still spending and the government is offering subsidies to small-car buyers, sales are expected to grow almost 8%, to nearly 9 million vehicles—about a million less than the current U.S. sales volume. Indeed, in the first

quarter of 2009, China became the world's largest car market, overtaking the U.S. for the first time.

In this relatively hot climate, GM is neck and neck with Volkswagen for the market-share lead, 10 years after the first GM cars started rolling off Chinese assembly lines. In April, GM set a record for monthly sales: 151,084 vehicles, a stunning 50% increase over its April 2008 results. GM remains "solidly profitable" in the country, says Nick Reilly, president of GM Asia-Pacific. (GM does not disclose China revenue and profit figures.) While GM plans to slash its U.S. workforce 38%—23,000 jobs—by 2011, it's hiring in China and expects to open a new factory there within the next few years. The work rules

**Better half** A cross-sectioned new Buick on display at the Shanghai auto show on April 20. Buick is GM's best-selling brand in China



that have strangled productivity for decades on many of GM's U.S. factory floors barely exist here. Though GM China tightly guards data on labor costs, analysts conservatively estimate that wages and benefits per factory worker are about a tenth of what they are in America—one reason GM eventually plans to export Chinese-made cars to the U.S. "And quality is not an issue," insists Reilly, since GM's Chinese plants are as good as its factories anywhere else. "Within 10 years," says Kevin Wale, Reilly's deputy and the president of GM China, "this will be our largest market in the world."

That statement is almost a mantra at GM's regional headquarters in Shanghai, where executives are trying to hammer home an upbeat message about the company's long-term viability not just to Chinese car buyers but to its 21,000 employees as well. Earlier this year, rumors circulated that GM was in talks with Shanghai Automotive Industry Corp., China's largest carmaker, to reduce its stake in a key 50-50 joint venture—Shanghai GM—as a way to raise cash to send back to Detroit. Wale had to knock down that talk. "Absolutely untrue," he tells TIME. GM executives say none of their China operations are for sale.

Still, GM's Chinese employees are acutely aware that the times are anything but normal. President Barack Obama's decision earlier this

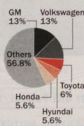
year to dismiss CEO Rick Wagoner was a jolt. As a young executive puts it, "We didn't think in America that the President could fire the CEO of a private company. For us Chinese, it was very confusing." Doubly so because Wagoner is viewed as one of the architects of GM's dominance in China. Says a former GM exec: "It may be the ultimate irony of [Wagoner's] career that as bad as things are in the U.S., his more important legacy may turn out to be China."

Sales in mainland China last year accounted for just 13% of GM's global total, but there's no question GM China is racing ahead. It is rolling out no fewer than 10 new models over the next two years—five for Buick, its most popular brand in China, and five for Chevrolet. One of the most important launches is that of the Chevy Cruze, a compact sedan designed for the world market that will make its Chinese debut this summer. It will compete with the popular Toyota Corolla and the Volkswagen Passat in what Reilly calls the market's "sweet spot"—cars costing from \$16,000 to \$20,000. Reilly insists that buyers have not been put off by all the talk of bankruptcy, although competitors smell an opportunity.

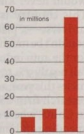
With or without bankruptcy, GM's domestic restructuring may ultimately have a big impact on its Chinese operations—but not necessarily a negative one. Currently, most

**Chevy heavy**  
A showroom in Shanghai. GM is rolling out five new Chevrolet models in China in the next two years

#### READY TO ROLL



#### China's market-share leaders



#### Global light-vehicle sales in 2008

Sources: CSM Worldwide; Global Insight

of what GM makes in China, including engines and power trains, is for domestic consumption. As factories in the U.S. are downsized and closed, Reilly says he would see China "becoming a significant exporter" of passenger cars. Clayton Christensen, a Harvard Business School professor and former consultant for Wagoner, says relatively inexpensive Chinese-made cars, exported to the U.S., could be precisely the "disruptive" force the company needs to get its market share growing again in North America. "It's exactly the right thing for them to do," Christensen has said.

It could also be disruptive in other ways, though. Under the GM restructuring plan released in late April, Washington would own 50% of the carmaker, and the United Auto Workers (UAW) union just less than 40%; each would have a board seat. If that ownership structure persists, GM's board may face a confounding issue: the more cars it exports from China to the U.S. and other markets, the more UAW jobs are at risk. The UAW and its supporters could argue that a China-centric manufacturing strategy would defeat the reason GM is being rescued in the first place: to preserve some of America's shrinking industrial base while propping up the economy. The solution is to sell more cars everywhere. If it doesn't, GM might one day find that it's possible to be too successful in China. ■


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## MEGACITIES

# Flirting with Disaster.

Naples is chaotic, beautiful, ungovernable—and plans carefully for the worst

BY JEFF ISRAELY/NAPLES

DAY-TO-DAY LIFE IN NAPLES, ITALY, A CITY that defines world-class municipal malfunction, can seem like “one long emergency,” to borrow a phrase from Bruce Springsteen. Narrow streets. Buildings in disrepair. Pickpockets on the prowl. And we haven’t even gotten to the Mob hits and trash heaps. Naples has attracted the global spotlight in recent years for a recurring *emergenza* of uncollected garbage piled along city blocks, the result of a toxic mix of dismal political leadership and organized crime’s muscling in on the trash-collecting business. It must also be said that there is much beauty to behold in this bustling Mediterranean city, home to historic palazzi and the world’s best pizza.

Still, even a particularly bad (or putrid) period of everyday woes pales next to the scenarios that residents of this anything-can-happen city try their best to avoid thinking about: the greater Naples area is uniquely exposed to a trio of natural threats—earthquakes, volcanoes, flooding—compounded by all the famous man-made disorder.

“There’s always a lot of confusion, but we’re used to it,” says Livia Savarese, 23, a Naples psychology student and part-time social-services worker. “The perception of danger is zero. In Naples, people live for today and don’t think about the future.”

The April earthquake in L’Aquila, which left 294 people dead and nearly 40,000 homeless, woke sleeping residents in downtown Naples 113 miles to the south, a reminder that Mother Nature is an urban dweller too. Italy is at the crossroads of two fault lines and has suffered at least 17 major earthquakes since 1693, including the 1908 quake in Messina, Sicily, that left a staggering 100,000 people dead.

Experts say that now as then, the risk that a disaster will turn into all-out catastrophe depends on both the local conditions before the event and the response afterward. Italy’s Civil Protection Agency, in charge of the latter, received high marks for its response to the L’Aquila quake. “The first 48 hours are crucial for saving lives,” notes Guido Bertolaso, head of the Civil Protection Agency. “After that you lose a lot of hope.”

Naples does not sit squarely on a fault line but is close enough to be at risk for major damage if a strong quake hits nearby. The city barely escaped the full wrath of the 1980 Irpinia earthquake (3,000 killed), whose epicenter was 25 miles east. With a population of 4.4 million, greater Naples shares the problem that appears to have aggravated the damage and death toll in L’Aquila: a high percentage of buildings



## THE WORLD'S MOST EARTHQUAKE-PRONE CITIES

- 1 Tokyo
- 2 Beijing
- 3 Mexico City
- 4 Los Angeles
- 5 Lima
- 6 Tehran
- 7 Manila
- 8 Jakarta
- 9 Karachi
- 10 Naples





SOURCE: STEVEN DUTCH,  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AT GREEN BAY



**Looming danger** Clockwise from left: A fireman checks a building in the shadow of Mount Vesuvius; tents stand at the ready during a disaster-preparedness test; emergency responders practice their art on ancient statues

ius Institute at the University of Naples Federico II, which has developed complex models for calculating the effects of a natural disaster on individual cities in Italy according to local conditions, including the quality of building construction and viability of roads and other infrastructure. Within minutes of the L'Aquila quake, Plinius had reached what turned out to be a very accurate estimate of the location and severity of damage, which helped guide the Civil Protection authorities' response. "You have to understand the nature of the disaster as quickly as possible," says Zuccaro. "In Naples, one risk is that roads get blocked off, making parts of the city inaccessible for rescue workers. That can transform a disaster into a maxi-disaster."

The potential mother of all maxi-disasters is named Mount Vesuvius, which lies just 7 miles to the east of Naples and is by all accounts the volcano that poses the greatest risk of taking a major human toll. The eruption in A.D. 79 destroyed the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum and killed about 16,000 people. There are 18 towns on the city's outskirts, with a combined population of more than 550,000, that could be devastated if the volcano roars again.

The good news is that unlike earthquakes, volcanoes give warning signs—gaseous and seismic—before erupting. Still, volcanology is not an exact science, and evacuation plans are never simple. The fear of sounding a false alarm of a major eruption—which would force an unnecessary evacuation of half a million people for weeks—is right behind the fear of not forcing people to flee when the big one hits, explains Franco Barberi, a top volcanologist and the head of the National Commission on Major Risks. "You need to distinguish risks," says Barberi, noting that a full evacuation would probably take three days.

For now, Vesuvius is dormant, as it has been for more than 60 years. It looks over Naples from the east, with the crystal Mediterranean to the west. Between them is jam-packed, chaotic humanity, though the trash crisis is again dormant as well. For now, Notes Bertolaso: "Naples is a beautiful thing, and like all beautiful things, it's very fragile." And all that is fragile needs the best plans for protection. ■

that don't meet adequate seismic standards. Naples has both old buildings that have not been retrofitted and more recent buildings that were not constructed according to codes put in place in the early 1980s after the Irpinia tragedy.

Officials have to be ready to respond to a crisis in Naples, as they do in other quake-threatened metropolises such as Istanbul and Tokyo. "We know that a big

city can be hit by a disaster, and you need the best planning, best organization possible to avert a total catastrophe," says Bertolaso. "In Naples the emergency response would be very complicated."

Despite its reputation for chaos, Naples is well organized when it comes to using research and technology to measure risk and plan emergency response. Professor Giulio Zuccaro leads the Plin-

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Photo: Concern, Darfur

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**He's back** *The rapper fought addiction during his five-year absence*

# Arts

■ MUSIC ■ MOVIES ■ BOOKS ■ SHORT LIST

## MUSIC

**Remember Em?** The same old Eminem returns to a different world

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

"I GUESS IT'S TIME FOR YOU TO HATE me again," says Eminem hopefully on *Relapse*, his first new studio album since November 2004. Not so fast, buddy. Measured in the dog years that make up a rap star's career, an epoch has passed since most people have thought about Eminem, let alone been riled up by him, and the world hardly paused in his absence. Dozens of events, from the political (a black President makes the novelty of a white rapper seem kind of insignificant) to the personal (Eminem's struggle with a sleeping-pill addiction rendered him worthy of sympathy), have shifted the ground of popular culture and Eminem's place in it, gumming up the buttons he once pushed with ironic glee.

But one development wreaked more havoc on Eminem's hateability than all the rest: amazingly, some-



one coarsened the culture without him. As Borat, Sacha Baron Cohen advanced the art of provocation, broadening it from Eminem's preferred taboos of sex and class to the mocking of all Americans (by a foreigner, no less) for being naive enough to believe their own mythology. Baron Cohen was darker, funnier and way more misanthropic than Eminem—which is how it goes with cultural instigators. They poke, we react; they poke again, we react a little less, until eventually someone with a sharper stick and a bushier mustache comes along. America's Most Outrageous is just not a title you keep for long or get to hold twice.

Not that anything could keep Eminem, 36, from trying to win it back. Half of *Relapse*—the aggressively dull and stupid half—is devoted to re-establishing Eminem as a man so unHINGED, he's capable of anything or at least fantasizing about anything. By the middle of the first song, "3 a.m.," Eminem, or one of his multiple alter egos, has masturbated to Hannah Montana and left a pile of bodies behind the counter of a McDonald's.

And that's just a little light stretching before the onslaught of celebrity sex and violence that follows. On "Medicine Ball," he promises to rape the Pussycat Dolls and spits out a couplet of abuse for Madonna and Rihanna, while "Same Song & Dance" has him raping Lindsay Lohan in one verse and Britney Spears in the next. Suffice it to say that many more rapes occur and I stopped taking notes.

Are you outraged or just bored? Eminem has trampled these boundaries before, and even the gothic funk and serio-comic beats of Dr. Dre, who produced all

## Eminem sounds like a man with a reputation to uphold, a lyric book to fill and a stack of *Us Weekly* magazines nearby

but one of *Relapse*'s 20 tracks, can't cover up the sound of Eminem's weariness. Titles like "Same Song & Dance" and "Old Time's Sake" give away the game, as does the quality of the wordplay, which is far more blunt than manic. Eminem sounds like a man with a reputation to uphold, a lyric book to fill and a stack of *Us Weekly* magazines nearby. Things do not improve when he shifts to his other major theme, serial killers, and multiple references to *Children of the Corn*, *Friday the 13th* and *The Silence of the Lambs* reveal a man in desperate need of help with his Netflix queue.

When *Relapse* works, it's usually because Eminem drops the pretense that he wants to be loathed and returns to subjects that actually haunt him. "My mom, my mom/ I know you're probably tired of hearing about my mom," he sighs on "My Mom," and since even people who know almost nothing about Eminem are aware that he and his mother are not close, you prepare for the worst. But rather than self-pitying, the tale of how Mom launched her misbehaving son's drug problems by dosing him with Valium turns out to be tragic, squirm-inducing and funny: "All right, Ma, you win, I don't feel like arguin'/ I'll do it, pop and gobble

it and start wobbling/ Stumble, hobble, tumble, slip, drip, then I fall in bed/ With a bottle of meds." It goes without saying that "My Mom" and "Insane"—the latter about the sexual abuse dished out by a nasty stepfather—are horrible and more graphic than they need to be, but they do feel honest. They're also fun. When Eminem packs in the syllables and takes a deep breath, his word-slinging is as artful and entertaining as swordplay.

If he's going to have a second act as interesting as his first, Eminem should probably drop the ironic psychotic fantasies and stick to rhyming the details of his life. He's never been quite the storyteller that fans of "Stan" or "'97 Bonnie and Clyde" claim he is, but hand him a task like describing the logic of addiction and his skills take flight. On "Déjà Vu," over a minimal beat and guitar loop, he explains, "Maybe just a nice cold brew, what's a beer?/ That's the devil in my ear I been sober a f\_\_\_ in' year/ And that f\_\_\_er still talks to me, he's all I can f\_\_\_ in' hear/ 'Marshall, come on, we'll watch the game, it's the Cowboys and Buccaneers/ And maybe if I just drink half, I'll be half buzzed for half of the time/ Who's the mastermind behind that little line?"

Written in rehab and rapped in a flat monotone, "Beautiful" finds him mired in writer's block and contemplating the future. "I decided just to pick this pen/ Up and try to make an attempt to vent/ But I just can't admit/ Or come to grips with the fact/ That I may be done with rap/ I need a new outlet." With his limitless ability to turn pain into rhymes, Eminem clearly has the right outlet. It's his outlook that could use a little tweaking. ■

## His Five Best Songs. Ever



### Stan

1999

"I'm glad I inspire you, but Stan, why are you so mad? Try to understand that I do want you as a fan."

**ANALYSIS:** The story of a disturbed admirer, told through a series of increasingly threatening letters. Plus: Dido!



### White America

2002

"See, the problem is, I speak to suburban kids/ Who otherwise woulda never knew these words exist."

**ANALYSIS:** Rhyming to a martial beat, Eminem explains why so many kids find him appealing



### Without Me

2002

"I am the worst thing since Elvis Presley/ To do black music so selfishly/ And use it to get myself wealthy."

**ANALYSIS:** A shining example of adolescent instigation



### Lose Yourself

2002

"His palms are sweaty, knees weak, arms are heavy/ There's vomit on his sweater already, Mom's spaghetti."

**ANALYSIS:** The track that launched a thousand sports-highlight montages



### Mosh

2004

"We're responsible for this monster/ This coward/ That we have empowered."

**ANALYSIS:** A protest song suggests another course—whereas this anti-George W. Bush rant is just furious



## MOVIES

# Sensory Overload. *Terminator Salvation* will stun your eyes and ears. Want emotions? Bring your own!

BY MARY POLS

FROM THE BEGINNING, WHEN CYBORG Arnold Schwarzenegger first arrived in our present—nude, greasy and heralded by what now seems like a very quaint series of lightning strikes—it was a bad idea to dwell on the time-traveling twist that has him pursuing a target, John Connor, who is still unconceived yet also alive in the future. Better to focus on key information from *The Terminator*, like the fact that a seemingly simple statement of intent—"I'll be back"—is actually quite a nice little joke.

The adult John Connor (Christian Bale) utters the same words in the fourth movie in the franchise, *Terminator Salvation*, but it's funny only in the context of the original. *Terminator Salvation* has no time for jokes. It's an action movie wrapped in an action movie, with a side of bombing. It is so riveting on a visual and aural level that taking in its dialogue, even though it's laudably economical ("Where's the Terminator?"), feels akin to being forced to listen to chitchat during an earthquake.

The movie was directed by McG (*Charlie's Angels*), who is staking his claim on the series begun in 1984 by James Cameron. But instead of taking on the big questions that have been bugging us all these years—such as, What's so great about John Connor, and how did/does/will he save mankind

during the war with the machines?—the screenplay shimmies into the upper third of the *Terminator* timeline. The year is 2018, things are grim, per usual, and the birth of Connor remains a top priority, although his designated father, Kyle Reese (Anton Yelchin), is still far too young to head back in time to frantically knead Sarah Connor's breasts in a California motel room (see movie No. 1). Movie No. 4 is all about keeping Kyle safe, so that in the future he can serve as Sarah's spermator.

Given that the original Terminator is tied up balancing California's checkbook, McG needed a strong man to do his thing with Connor. (For the five *Terminator* innocents out there, that varies from attempted mother assassination to kindly protection, depending on the mood of the director.) Australian actor Sam Worthington, who looks something like a young Dennis Quaid, makes an appealing stand in. He

**This film has no time for jokes. It's an action movie wrapped in an action movie, with a side of bombing**

**Mission implausible** Christian Bale plays John Connor as a dour, soulless savior

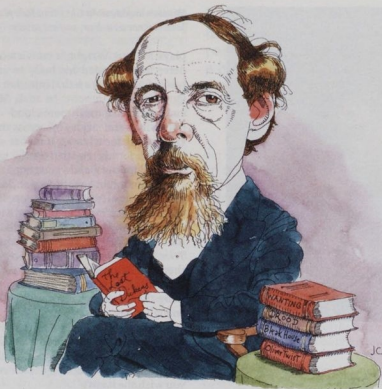
plays Marcus Wright, a convicted murderer who donated his body to science just before getting a lethal injection at San Quentin back in 2003. In 2018, Marcus emerges from a mushroom cloud—nude, naturally—and strides off across the desert, looking for whoever it is that was responsible for his rebirth. He's the movie's only real mystery, and a good one at that.

Connor might be the Messiah, but Bale plays him as surprisingly soulless, hitting the same dour notes he uses for Batman. He's expecting his first child with doctor Kate (Bryce Dallas Howard), introduced in *Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines* and played then by Claire Danes. Howard seems to have only half a dozen lines—certainly no more than that register—and she is dull enough to have cyborg potential. The script keeps most of its women silent (there's even a helpful mute urchin named Star), and when one of them, fighter pilot Blair (Moon Bloodgood), does open her mouth, you wish she hadn't.

Many devotees complained that *Rise of the Machines*, the first installment that wasn't directed by Cameron, crudely violated the creator's intent and messed with the overarching plot. Call me a clod, but I didn't see it as all that insulting. It may have been overly eager to show off its special effects, but it was entertaining enough in that big, stupid way. The new movie has much more impressive effects and is far more slavish in its homage. (It's a pleasure to learn that even as a teen, Kyle was using the "Come with me if you want to live" line.) Like the new *Star Trek*, it's a gift for fans.

But what's lacking is the sense of emotional balance and urgency that the original *Terminator*, though just a B movie, was blessed with—the quality that earned it fans in the first place. It was cheesy, but it never pretended to be otherwise. In *Terminator Salvation*, we don't bother worrying about teenage Kyle; we know he'll make it. We're too busy thinking about how cool that stunt was, the one where that body skimmed the river's surface like a skipping stone.

So McG knows how to slap an audience into awed submission. But at a certain point, you may feel so pummeled that you check out and begin pondering things like the time-travel question. Or when did radiation from nuclear blasts cease to be dangerous to human beings? Or what exactly is *Terminator Salvation's* stance on the death penalty? Or how is it that even after the apocalypse, someone is still churning out cute maternity wear and hot leather outfits? Maybe in 25 more years, we'll get the answers. ■



## BOOKS

# What the Dickens. Richard Flanagan's new novel explores the life and loves of the great Victorian writer



## FIRST LINES

The war had ended as wars sometimes do, unexpectedly. A man no one much cared for, a rather pumped-up little Presbyterian carpenter cum preacher, had travelled unarmed and in the company of tame blacks through the great wild lands of the island, and had returned with a motley cluster of savages.

BY LEV GROSSMAN

NOT MANY PEOPLE KNOW THAT Charles Dickens was an actor as well as a writer. A workaholic who was haunted by memories of his impoverished childhood, when he worked in a blacking factory, Dickens was never the most emotionally stable of men at the best of times, never mind at the worst. In 1857 his friend Wilkie Collins wrote a play about a failed Arctic expedition. Dickens became obsessed with it and, like a rapper who's tired of the recording studio, volunteered to play the role of the villain. Then he fell in love with his 18-year-old co-star and left his wife.

You couldn't exactly say that Dickens is hot right now, but something is going on with him. Not just with his work, but with Dickens the person. So far this year he's turned up as a character in Dan Simmons' *Drood* and Matthew Pearl's *The Last Dickens*, both of which deal with his final, unfinished novel, *The Mystery of*

*Edwin Drood*. Writers love to prey on their own kind anyway, but what's so intriguing about Dickens is the disconnect between his life and his art. His novels are full of last-minute redemptions and neat resolutions, but his life was a mess worthy of reality TV.

This year's third (!) and most ambitious novel about Dickens is *Wanting*, by the Australian—or if you like, Tasmanian—writer Richard Flanagan. *Wanting* begins when Dickens is mourning the death of his ninth child, Dora, and feeling increasingly alienated from his wife and from himself. "They say Christ was a good man," he cracks, "but did he ever live with a woman?" Flanagan's Dickens is a man who has only ever lived emotional-

**Dickens' novels are full of last-minute redemptions and neat resolutions, but his life was a mess**

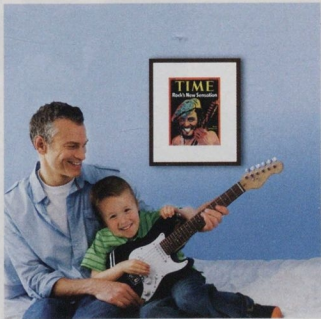
ly through his novels. Acting in Collins' play, which was called *The Frozen Deep*, he sets free feelings he was accustomed to keeping tightly confined, and his co-star, the toothsome Ellen Ternan, finds herself right in the splash zone.

*The Frozen Deep* was based on the disastrous Franklin Expedition, which furnishes *Wanting* with a secondary plot (it has three in all). Launched in 1845 under the command of Sir John Franklin, its purpose was to discover the fabled Northwest Passage. Franklin's ships were fitted with the bleeding edge of English naval technology, but the Arctic swallowed them and their crews with hardly a trace. Later explorers found evidence that Franklin's men had resorted to cannibalism before they finally died of hunger, disease and exposure.

What the stories of Franklin and Dickens have in common is the issue of wanting. Under what circumstances do men and women give in to forbidden desires—Dickens, a man starving for love, and Franklin, a man just plain starving? "We all have appetites and desires," Dickens says, "but only the savage agrees to sate them." The revelation that the stuffy Victorians had desires and acted on them isn't a particularly shocking one (nor would it have shocked an actual Victorian). But Flanagan makes the matter more interesting by posing it in the form of an insoluble dilemma: Which is worse, giving in to desire or keeping it locked up inside? "If you turn away from love," Franklin's widow asks, "did it mean you no longer existed?" Each one can lead to its own kind of disaster.

To balance things out, Flanagan also gives us an actual savage, a young Tasmanian Aborigine named Mathinna. Earlier in his career, Franklin and his wife had adopted Mathinna, an orphan, and then tried to make her into a good Victorian girl. But she ends up a lost plaything, at home nowhere, a novelty like her own pet albino possum, batted this way and that by the rich white people who dote on her and then discard her. Mathinna is Flanagan's most successful creation, and his saddest. She's a savage ruined by the desires of the cultured English—an irony lost on everyone but the reader.

# Exhibit Your Passions

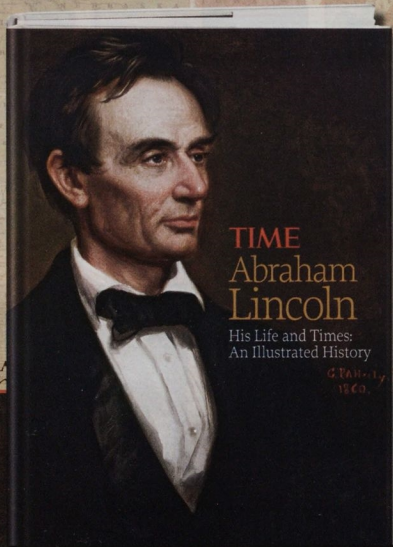


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# REMEMBERING THE MAN THAT SHAPED A NATION



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# Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



## 1 **MOVIE** **Night at the Museum: Battle of the Smithsonian**

The Smithsonian ought to send a trunk of trinkets to Ben Stiller and director Shawn Levy for this madcap love letter to old-school museums. If face-slapping monkeys; evil, lisping pharaohs; and cupids who sing like the Jonas Brothers can't pique kids' interest in the past, then we're all history.

## 2 **DVD** **The Guild, Seasons 1 and 2**

When an online-fantasy gamer (Felicia Day) gets a real-life visit from her needy, smitten fellow role player (Sandeep Parikh, *right*), she finds out that some friendships are better left virtual. A hugely popular Web series, this oddball geek-bonding comedy is strange magic.

## 3 **BOOK** **Please Step Back**

Ben Greenman started this as a biography of Sly Stone but (wisely) turned it into a funny, freaky novel instead, about one Rock Fox, a Stone-esque funk superstar who rises in the 1960s and falls in the 1970s, with all that implies—sex, drugs and a killer sound track.

## 4 **TELEVISION** **Portraits of Women Artists**

From May 25 to 29, the Sundance Channel airs four smart documentaries about resolute artists including Agnes Martin, Alice Neel and Joan Mitchell (*right*) and one funny/dumb doc about a complicated fate: to be the obscure boyfriend of the famous Cindy Sherman.

## 5 **THEATER** **Offices**

Ethan Coen, of the filmmaking Coen brothers, transitions nicely to the stage with a trio of one-acts about workplace paranoia. Joey Slotnick as an office malcontent and F. Murray Abraham as a bum turned executive stand out in this super off-Broadway production.

**Arts Online**  
For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to [time.com/entertainment](http://time.com/entertainment)



## Guillermo del Toro's Short List

Best known as the Academy Award-nominated filmmaker of *Pan's Labyrinth* and the *Hellboy* movies, Del Toro reveals his longtime fascination with vampire lore in *The Strain*, the first novel of his vampire trilogy, out June 2. Here are a few other things Del Toro, who is directing a new movie of J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit*, likes to bite into during his spare time.

### Two haunting movies

I have seen *Zodiac* about 14 times. This is an obsessive, methodical film about obsessive, methodical characters (not just the killer) and the best adult thriller since *Se7en*. The mystery, beauty and precision of *The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford* haunt me anew with each viewing. The subterranean emotions among the male characters are interwoven perfectly with the framing, pacing and audiovisual landscape.

### A little dark music

The late-Renaissance composer Carlo Gesualdo's "Tenebrae" and "Madrigals" are like a dark mantra—immersive, disturbing and spiritual. A modern composer born centuries ahead of his time.

### Thurber's twisted fairy tales

*The 13 Clocks* by James Thurber was a gift from Peter Jackson and Fran Walsh after we discussed fairy tales. Little did I know that I would discover a bewitching, powerful universe within these pages. This book makes me feel like a 10-year-old, at the age of 44. A brilliant, deranged confection of language and imagination.

### The mind behind *Peter Rabbit*

I have great affinity with Beatrix Potter, her sweet animal illustrations. *Beatrix Potter: Artist and Illustrator* displays her observational paintings, which I love even more—the abandoned sole of a medieval shoe, insects and, above all, fungi, a subject she found irresistible and moving.

### Tolkien online

TheOneRing.net is a great community where intelligent, articulate dissenters argue about fascinating minutiae—and not just about fantasy.





Nancy

# Gibbs

## The Abortion Reversal. For the first time, a majority of Americans call themselves pro-life. But what has really changed?

THE ABORTION DEBATE IS A SHAPE SHIFTER, ITS CONTOURS twisted by politics, culture and the very language pollsters use when they ask people how they feel. So when the folks at Gallup announce that for the first time more Americans are pro-life than pro-choice, there are all kinds of ways to misunderstand what that means.

First and foremost are the labels, which cloud the issue by oversimplifying it—that's why the advocates picked them. Most people are neither pro-choice nor pro-life but both; we cherish life, we value choice, and we trade them off with great reluctance. Good luck explaining that to the pollster on the other end of the phone.

But if we place any stock at all in those labels, something dramatic has happened. In 1995, when Gallup started asking the question, the split was 56%-33% in favor of abortion rights. Now the lines have crossed, and 51% call themselves pro-life while only 42% say pro-choice. It's a shift that stretches past personal convictions and into legal constraints. For 35 years, a majority of Americans have wanted abortion to be, essentially, legal with limits. But a movement toward greater restraint is clear. In the mid-'90s, when pro-choice forces were especially dominant, only 12% believed abortion was always wrong; that number has nearly doubled. Slightly more people now believe abortion should be illegal under all circumstances (23%) than legal under all circumstances (22%).

So what's changed? Gallup attributes the new numbers to Republicans purifying their views: 70% now call themselves pro-life, up 10 points in a year. But when fewer people call themselves Republican, that's to be expected. It's the people in the middle who are constantly weighing which restrictions are reasonable. A new Pew poll finds that while a majority of independents said abortion should be legal in most or all cases as recently as October, just 44% do so now. This may inspire some introspection on the part of political operatives in both parties who attribute the Republicans' present frailty to its orthodoxy on social issues. The GOP may have some hapless messengers, but its message on abortion is closer to the mainstream than Democrats care to acknowledge.

I think the numbers, inadequate and simplified though they may be, reflect deeper generational, legal and technological changes. Perhaps people under 30

are more opposed to abortion than those older because their first baby pictures were often taken in utero. I also wonder if younger women are now sure enough of their sexual autonomy, and their choices generally, that they don't view limits on abortion as attacks on their freedom. The calculation of rights subtly shifts, and the fetus, as it develops, asserts its claim on the conscience.

Of course, antiabortion activists have worked hard to make the issue more intimate. Nebraska is the latest state to debate what activists call "window to the womb" laws, which require that women be shown an ultrasound of the fetus before going ahead with an abortion. The Missouri senate recently considered a bill that would require doctors to bring up a fetus's development

and its ability to feel pain. Opponents of "informed consent" laws that talk about fetal pain warn that doing so just causes the woman pain and call it emotional blackmail. But there is no denying that the battleground has shifted.

As, most obviously, has the political context. Abortion has forever been blown by electoral wind shear; when the right was in charge, people feared the return of coat hangers. Now that the left leads, they fear abortion on demand. The very meaning of the labels adjusts; calling yourself

pro-choice at a time when a liberal Democratic President is lifting abortion restraints may imply that you have no qualms at all, and that's not where most people are.

You can tell that Barack Obama isn't interested in culture war. He has left gay marriage to the states, dropped family-planning money from the stimulus bill, refused to fund needle exchanges and in his speech at Notre Dame's commencement, addressed the possibility of common ground on abortion and the need for "open hearts. Open minds. Fair-minded words." He is inviting all sides into the White House to discuss ways to reduce the number of abortions in part by reducing unintended pregnancies.

My theory? People apply the brakes to whichever side has the momentum. The stakes are too high, the pain too private, whatever decision a woman makes, to see the issue treated as an ideological toy or a fundraising tool. Obama got in trouble in his talk last August with Rick Warren for saying that the question of when life begins was "above my pay grade." But just because he was glib doesn't mean he was wrong.



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